

# The Historical Outlook

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# The Historical Outlook

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## Our Vice-Presidents: Forgotten Men

By ALDEN L. POWELL

*University of Illinois*

At some time during the year of a presidential election, we are reminded of the presence in our political system of a much abused and little praised office known as the vice-presidency.<sup>1</sup> No one knows who originated the idea of a "vice-president."<sup>2</sup> The term was first mentioned in the report of the Committee of Eleven in the Convention of 1787, nearly four months after the Convention had assembled. Although the question of determining a successor to the President in case of his death or disability had recurred from time to time as the Convention progressed, it was generally believed that the President of the Senate, chosen by the Senate, finally would be designated as the succeeding officer. But as the Convention had rejected the idea of the National legislature electing the President, it would be inconsistent to have the President's successor chosen by that body. Therefore, the vice-presidency was created, an elective office "forced into being" because of the method which the framers had chosen for electing the President.<sup>3</sup>

Then, too, one of the many problems of the Convention, as between the delegates from the "large States" and those from the "small States," was to agree upon some kind of a presiding officer for the Senate. If elected from that body, it was contended that the presiding officer would have not only his vote as a Senator but also an additional vote as presiding officer. This would give his State an undue advantage over the other States. The "small States," therefore, realizing that the presiding officer might always be chosen from one of the larger States, feared such a terrible calamity would disturb that balance of power in the Senate which they were determined to preserve, so they insisted upon an "outsider" for presiding officer, one who would be elected, though indirectly, by the people and represent all.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the vice-presidency was the result of an effort to appease two factions in the Convention, one demanding that the same method be used for choosing the President and his successor; the other

insisting that the presiding officer of the Senate be elected by the people, having a casting vote only in case of a tie.

George Mason of Virginia ardently opposed the creation of the office because he believed it would encroach upon the rights of the Senate, and because it "mixed too much" legislative and executive functions.<sup>5</sup> Elbridge Gerry, who later became a vice-president, feared that a "close intimacy" might exist between the President and his possible successor, a sentiment which led Gouverneur Morris to remark that the vice-president then would be "the first heir apparent that ever loved his father."<sup>6</sup>

A majority of the delegates favored the office, however, because it seemed that the vice-president would be an impartial presiding officer of the Senate, being elected by the whole people, and because they were convinced the vacancy problem could best be solved by the device of a second officer, elected as the President was, and certain to make a nation-wide appeal.<sup>7</sup> The framers could not, of course, foresee the deadlock which was to occur between Jefferson and Burr in the election of 1800, making necessary a change in the electoral machinery so that candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency might thereafter be voted for on separate ballots. This change, the Twelfth Amendment, although providing a more efficient method of election, has been unfortunate in that it marks the beginning of a steady diminution in the prestige of the vice-presidency.<sup>8</sup>

The proceedings in the recent Democratic convention are ample proof that the vice-presidency has become hardly more than a "complimentary" office. When Mr. McAdoo announced California's desertion of Garner for Roosevelt, it seemed almost obvious that Garner would be given the second place on the ticket as a reward for his great sacrifice in the interest of party harmony. And when Garner's name was placed before the convention, no one seriously opposed his nomination. No one

took the trouble to inquire whether, in case of the President's death or disability, he could ably perform the duties of the office to which he has one chance in five of succeeding.<sup>9</sup> Apparently the question uppermost in the minds of the delegates was whether his name and political influence could best promote the election of a Democratic president.

Professor Slosson has said that "Coolidge was tacked on to the tail of the ticket [in 1920] because he had a newspaper reputation for force and integrity which might help the ticket with a few voters who could not be won by Harding's genial smile and Washingtonian features."<sup>10</sup> Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was chosen for the second place with Lincoln in 1860 because it was hoped that this would in some degree placate the New York delegates for the defeat of their idol, Seward.<sup>11</sup> The northern Democrats attempted to soothe their unruly southern brethren in 1860 by choosing Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia as a running mate for Douglas.<sup>12</sup> John C. Breckinridge was nominated with Buchanan in 1856 because it was hoped that the people of the South would be comforted with a candidate who favored the doctrine that the Constitution protected slavery in the territories against both the authority of Congress and the territorial legislatures.<sup>13</sup> Millard Fillmore owed his nomination to the fact that the Clay faction in the Whig convention of 1848, angered because Taylor had won the nomination for the presidency, would not support Abbott Lawrence, a New England cotton manufacturer, for the second place because they were unwilling to "have cotton at both ends of the ticket."<sup>14</sup> Thomas Hendricks of Indiana was chosen with Cleveland in 1884 because he was from the Middle West, "had been identified with 'soft money,' and was acceptable to the machine faction, though not to the reform element that favored Cleveland."<sup>15</sup> Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey was placed second on the ticket with McKinley in 1896 because he had been an outspoken advocate of the gold standard and because the Republicans hoped to carry New Jersey, a traditionally Democratic State.<sup>16</sup> Roosevelt and Fairbanks were representative of opposite wings of the party in 1904, although they "maintained cordial relations." It is said that "on occasion Fairbanks even found it possible to speak well of the president in public."<sup>17</sup>

It seems, therefore, that a National convention would be violating a patriotic tradition if it failed to consider disappointed minorities, the North and South, the East and West, or the "wets" and "drys" in making up a presidential ticket.<sup>18</sup> Then, too, as Field has said, the climax is reached in a convention when the President is nominated. After that, the delegates begin to think about going

home, and usually the last person to reach the door of the convention hall is the nominee for vice-president.<sup>19</sup> Since 1832, when all candidates for the vice-presidency were nominated for the first time by national conventions,<sup>20</sup> sixteen vice-presidents have been nominated on the first ballot,<sup>21</sup> five on the second,<sup>22</sup> two on the third,<sup>23</sup> and one, Schuyler Colfax, on the fifth.<sup>24</sup> If the fact that sixteen vice-presidents have been nominated on the first ballot seems not to indicate that nominating conventions bestow little attention upon the second place, it may be noted that since 1832 only eight presidents have been nominated for their first terms on the initial ballot,<sup>25</sup> and only six for a second term.<sup>26</sup> The convention that nominated Garfield on the thirty-sixth ballot chose Arthur on the first ballot, and Arthur eventually became President through the death of his chief. Franklin Pierce failed to win his nomination in 1852 until the forty-ninth ballot; his running mate, W. R. King, was chosen on the second ballot. Thomas Marshall was nominated in 1912 on the second ballot although the convention had chosen Wilson to head the ticket only after forty-six ballots. Harding was selected on the tenth ballot and Coolidge, nominated on the first ballot, finished out his term.<sup>27</sup>

In thus using the vice-presidency as a "political pawn" to win the support of a strong minority,<sup>28</sup> party managers may throw the country into confusion, because when a vice-president succeeds to the presidency, a "second-class man" may be stepping into a place never intended for him. Party leaders may refuse to support him. An unfriendly Congress can thwart him at every turn. The disgraceful antics of Congress during Andrew Johnson's presidency are not forgotten. While there is little probability that such scenes will be repeated, the party tickets this year show how a disagreeable situation might easily be created. The ideas of Roosevelt and Garner on the extent of public expenditures do not exactly coincide. The chagrin of penurious Democrats, if Garner should succeed to the presidency, would perhaps be surpassed only by the consternation of "wet" Republicans upon the succession of the "dry" Curtis to that office.

Whatever may be the utility of the office, the vice-presidency has, nevertheless, an interesting history. It is especially worthy of attention this year because John N. Garner is the first Speaker of the House of Representatives to be nominated by the Democratic party for that high position. Schuyler Colfax, a Republican, was the only other Speaker ever nominated and elected to the vice-presidency.<sup>29</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt is the first candidate of either major party failing of election to the vice-presidency to be subsequently nominated by his party for the presidency. Abraham Lincoln



was the only candidate failing of nomination for the vice-presidency to be thereafter nominated and elected to the presidency.<sup>30</sup> If the Republican party is successful in the coming election, Charles Curtis will be the second vice-president to be reelected since 1828, the first being Thomas Marshall, who was reelected with Wilson in 1916. Mr. Curtis, at the age of seventy-two, is also one of the oldest candidates ever seeking the vice-presidency, the youngest being John Breckinridge, who was elected to the office at the age of thirty-five.

On only one occasion has a major party failed to nominate a candidate for the vice-presidency. The Democratic convention of 1840 chose Martin Van Buren for the first place on the ticket but did not "deem it expedient" to fill the second place, resolving "to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several states," and hoping that a concentration of opinion might result in the choice of a vice-president by the electoral college.<sup>31</sup>

At least nine persons have refused to accept their nominations for the second place on the ticket. John Langdon of New Hampshire declined to run with James Madison in 1812.<sup>32</sup> Thomas Earl of Pennsylvania would not accept place on the Abolition ticket with James G. Birney in 1839.<sup>33</sup> In 1844, Silas Wright of New York declined the honor after being nominated with Polk.<sup>34</sup> Daniel Webster refused the vice-presidency in 1848.<sup>35</sup> The Free-Soilers at the Utica convention of 1848 named General Henry Dodge of Wisconsin for the second place with Van Buren but he declined it.<sup>36</sup> Benjamin Fitzpatrick, in 1860, refused to run with Stephen A. Douglas.<sup>37</sup> General Butler declined to consider the second place with Lincoln in 1864.<sup>38</sup> Joel Parker spurned the honor conferred upon him by the Labor Reform convention of 1872,<sup>39</sup> and in the same year John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts declined his nomination by the (Straight-Out) Democratic convention but his declination was not accepted.<sup>40</sup> Frank O. Lowden refused the nomination tendered him by the Republican convention of 1924.<sup>41</sup>

Those who believe the vice-presidency usually has been filled with incapable, obscure men, chosen mainly because of their political following, will find that most of them have been rich in political experience at least. Four were members of the First Continental Congress.<sup>42</sup> Twelve had been United States Senators,<sup>43</sup> with two, King and Tyler, serving as president *pro tempore*. Sixteen vice-presidents had been members of the House of Representatives,<sup>44</sup> while six had served in both houses of Congress.<sup>45</sup> Three vice-presidents had been Cabinet members;<sup>46</sup> eleven had been governors;<sup>47</sup> seven had served in State constitutional conventions;<sup>48</sup> twenty had been members of their respective State

legislatures;<sup>49</sup> four had acted as foreign ministers;<sup>50</sup> four had been mayors of cities;<sup>51</sup> three had served as attorneys general of their respective States,<sup>52</sup> and one, Daniel D. Tompkins, had been an associate justice of the Supreme Court of New York. Levi P. Morton seems to have been the least qualified politically of all the thirty-one vice-presidents. Prior to his election, he had been successful in the dry goods business, had served two years in Congress, and had been appointed by the President as honorary commissioner to the Paris Exhibition in 1878.<sup>53</sup>

As to vocations, twenty-five vice-presidents had been admitted to the bar,<sup>54</sup> five were engaged in business pursuits, and one, Schuyler Colfax, was a journalist. Seventeen of the vice-presidents have been college graduates, and most of the others spent one or two years in academies or colleges.<sup>55</sup>

Although six of the thirty-one vice-presidents have succeeded to the presidency,<sup>56</sup> Roosevelt and Coolidge were the only two vice-presidents to be thereafter elected to that office, the remaining four failing to be renominated by their respective parties. Adams, Jefferson, Van Buren, and Breckinridge were the only vice-presidents to be nominated for the presidency while holding the former office. Richard M. Johnson was the first and only vice-president to be elected by the Senate, no candidate for vice-president having received a majority of the votes cast in the electoral college of 1837.<sup>57</sup>

Of those who never succeeded to the presidency, John C. Calhoun seems to have been the only vice-president to survive the deadening effect of the office, perhaps because he resigned, as no other vice-president has done, in 1832. In the years following, he served the State of South Carolina as United States Senator and Governor; he also became Secretary of State in Tyler's Cabinet. Hamlin and Breckinridge became United States Senators, and Levi P. Morton was elected Governor of New York, but most of the others retired into private life. Their retirement from active public life cannot be attributed to advanced age because the average age of a vice-president at the time of his election is fifty-four.

The vice-presidency has existed 143 years and yet, either because of the death of a vice-president or his succession to the presidency, the office has been vacant approximately thirty-three years, nearly one-fourth of our national existence.<sup>58</sup> It will be recalled that the framers intended one of the main duties of the vice-president to be that of presiding officer of the Senate, having a vote only in case of a tie. During the thirty-three years when the vice-presidency was unoccupied, there have been twenty-four presidents *pro tempore* of the Senate, chosen, as the delegates from the "small

States" predicted in 1787, in most cases from among those Senators representing the larger States. Of the twenty-four, only six have been Senators from the smaller States, serving in all only eleven of the thirty-three years during which the vice-presidency has been vacant. Yet, in spite of the suspicions of the "small State" delegates, there seems to have been no discrimination against them by presidents *pro tempore* chosen from the larger States. And furthermore, it is seldom that the presiding officer is called upon to deliver the casting vote necessary to break a tie. During the period 1789-1915, notwithstanding the thousands of roll-calls in the Senate, the vice-president was called upon to decide only 179 tie votes.<sup>59</sup>

Because of the numerous vacancies occurring in the vice-presidency, a constitutional amendment was proposed in 1881 which provided for a first, second, and third vice-president.<sup>60</sup> Between 1881 and 1889, five resolutions proposed a second vice-president only,<sup>61</sup> to be elected with the President and Vice-President. It was alleged, in view of the fact that the vice-presidency is unoccupied so much of the time, this raises a serious problem if the President should become disabled; because then, according to the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, the Secretary of State "shall act" as President. But the Secretary of State, acting as President, is still the head of the State Department; ceasing to be Secretary of State, he ceases to be President. This would mean that the Secretary would have to carry on the duties of both the presidency and the State Department. This was thought to be undesirable because "the spectacle of a great country like ours with simply one of the Cabinet at its head would not be satisfactory to the American people, and might be provocative of jealousy and cabal in the other Cabinet officers."<sup>62</sup> Then, too, an acting President might remove the other Cabinet officers in order to secure the succession, in case of accident to himself, in such persons as he preferred.<sup>63</sup>

Since 1889, four amendments have proposed that in case of vacancy in the vice-presidency, the president *pro tempore* of the Senate should become Vice-President.<sup>64</sup> A plank in the Socialist-Labor platform of 1892 provided for the abolition of the vice-presidency as a first step in overhauling the government.<sup>65</sup>

While the vice-president is awaiting the President's death and presiding over the Senate, it has occurred to many writers that he should be given something more to do, or at least, that his office should be made more "dignified." In 1916 an amendment was introduced in Congress providing that the vice-president should be ex officio a member of the Cabinet without portfolio.<sup>66</sup> Two resolu-

tions have provided that ex-vice-presidents have seats in the House of Representatives with all the rights and privileges of regularly elected members.<sup>67</sup> Thus far, all such proposals have expired noiselessly.<sup>68</sup>

In view of the above facts, it may be said that inasmuch as the nation, and the Senate, have thrived for thirty-three years without a vice-president, the office might well be abolished. If the Secretary of State were to become the succeeding officer, it may be assumed that Secretaries of State are certainly as able men as the incumbents of the vice-presidency. Furthermore, a Secretary of State would doubtless carry on the policies of his former chief, being of the same mind politically as well as familiar with current problems of the Administration. In this respect, a Secretary of State is much better qualified than a Vice-President, to assume the duties of the chief magistracy.

On the other hand, the popular notion that the vice-presidency has sheltered a long line of mediocrities seems unfair. In the light of the qualifications of the several vice-presidents, it is probable that the uselessness of the office rather than the incapacities of its incumbents is responsible for its unpopularity. It is hardly a fair test to compare a vice-president with a president because the former has had no opportunity to make known his accomplishments. If Abraham Lincoln had been nominated and elected to the vice-presidency in 1856, it is quite possible that his name would now be listed among the "forgotten men" who have coasted into obscurity while wielding the gavel in the Senate. Then, too, it is reasonable to suppose that Morton, or Wheeler, or Hendricks, with the opportunities of Roosevelt and Coolidge, might now be regarded as men eminent in the national life. Man for man, nearly every "mediocre" vice-president could be matched with a "second-class" president. Tyler, Johnson, and Fillmore might have done their tasks better if they had been accorded the support of a party majority that is enjoyed by most presidents.<sup>69</sup>

Although the vice-presidency is given little attention by the nominating conventions and is used by only to placate minorities, or for geographical reasons, it serves a useful purpose in holding both wings of the party together. Without it, one or several "third" parties might emerge from the dissatisfied factions in the several conventions, making it difficult for a president to obtain the cooperation of a working majority in Congress.

<sup>1</sup> Preston W. Slosson has described the vice-presidency as "a mere blank space in a politician's active career." "Calvin Coolidge: His Place in History," in *Current History*, XXXIII, 5 (Oct., 1930). John Adams, the first vice-president, said that the vice-presidency is "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination



conceived." *Works* (Boston, 1856), I, 460. Woodrow Wilson said of the Vice-President: "The chief embarrassment in discussing his office is, that in explaining how little there is to be said about it one has evidently said all there is to say." *Congressional Government* (Boston, 15th ed.), p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Beveridge, "The Fifth Wheel in Our Government," in *Century Magazine*, LXXIX, 208 (Dec., 1909).

<sup>3</sup> H. B. Learned, "Some Aspects of the Vice-Presidency," *Proceedings*, Amer. Polit. Sci. Assoc. (Baltimore, 1913), IX, 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> G. Hunt and J. B. Scott, *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* (New York, 1920), p. 527.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Learned, *loc. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> Oliver P. Field, "The Vice-Presidency of the United States," in *Amer. Law Rev.*, LVI, 378 (May-June, 1922).

<sup>9</sup> Six of the thirty-one vice-presidents (Tyler, Fillmore, A. Johnson, Arthur, Roosevelt, and Coolidge) have succeeded to the chief magistracy through the death of the President.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> E. D. Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860* (New York, 1911), p. 129n.

<sup>12</sup> P. S. Flippin, *Herschel V. Johnson* (Richmond, 1931), p. 116. That Mr. Johnson himself was not so easily deceived is shown by his letter to A. H. Stephens: "In some respects I am not pleased with the spirit of the Douglas men. They are peculiarly nice to us, but you can easily discover that they wish to use us." *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, 1884), I, 147.

<sup>14</sup> J. W. Pratt, in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), VI, 380.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Woodburn, *Ibid.* (New York, 1932), VIII, 534.

<sup>16</sup> J. E. Flitcroft, *Ibid.*, IX, 93.

<sup>17</sup> J. D. Hicks, *Ibid.* (New York, 1931), VI, 249.

<sup>18</sup> In 1920, candidates for the vice-presidency were more able men than the candidates for the presidency. The *Independent* described them as "kangaroo tickets" with the "hind legs stronger than the front!" Slosson, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>20</sup> T. H. McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms, 1789-1905* (Baltimore, 1906), p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Van Buren, R. M. Johnson, Tyler, A. Johnson, Wilson, Wheeler, Arthur, Hendricks, Morton, Stevenson, Hobart, Roosevelt, Fairbanks, Sherman, Coolidge, and Curtis.

<sup>22</sup> Dallas, Fillmore, King, Breckinridge, and Hamlin.

<sup>23</sup> Marshall and Dawes.

<sup>24</sup> We have considered only those candidates actually elected to the vice-presidency. The above statistics have been obtained by a study of McKee, *op. cit.*, and E. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency* (Boston, 1924-28), 2 vols., and *Proceedings of the conventions*.

<sup>25</sup> Jackson, Van Buren, Grant, McKinley, T. Roosevelt, Taft, Coolidge, and Hoover.

<sup>26</sup> Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, McKinley, Wilson, and Hoover.

<sup>27</sup> In 1924, Charles Bryan was chosen on the first ballot as the Democratic nominee for vice-president, although the convention could not agree upon a candidate for the presidency until the 103rd ballot. *Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (1924).

<sup>28</sup> To conciliate the opponents of secession, the Montgomery Convention of 1861 chose an anti-secessionist, Alexander H. Stephens, for vice-president of the Confederacy. H. J. Eckenrode says that Stephens "probably did as much as any individual, save Grant and Sherman, to bring about the fall of the Confederacy." *Jefferson Davis* (New York, 1923), p. 115.

<sup>29</sup> Colfax was elected with Grant in 1868. McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>35</sup> Field, *loc. cit.*, p. 396.

<sup>36</sup> McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>38</sup> Field, *loc. cit.*, p. 396.

<sup>39</sup> McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>41</sup> *Proceedings* (1924), p. 190.

<sup>42</sup> Adams, Jefferson, Clinton, and Gerry.

<sup>43</sup> Burr, Van Buren, R. M. Johnson, Dallas, King, Tyler, Hamlin, Wilson, A. Johnson, Hendricks, Fairbanks, and Curtis.

<sup>44</sup> Gerry, Tompkins, Calhoun, R. M. Johnson, Tyler, Fillmore, Breckinridge, Hamlin, A. Johnson, Colfax, Wheeler, Hendricks, Morton, Sherman, Stevenson, and Curtis.

<sup>45</sup> R. M. Johnson, Tyler, Hamlin, A. Johnson, Hendricks, and Curtis.

<sup>46</sup> Jefferson and Van Buren were Secretaries of State, respectively, under Washington and Jackson. Calhoun had been Secretary of War under Monroe.

<sup>47</sup> Jefferson, Clinton, Gerry, Van Buren, Tyler, Hamlin, A. Johnson, Hendricks, Marshall, Coolidge, and Roosevelt.

<sup>48</sup> Burr, Clinton, Tompkins, Van Buren, Wilson, Wheeler, and Hendricks.

<sup>49</sup> Jefferson, Burr, Clinton, Gerry, Tompkins, Calhoun, Van Buren, R. M. Johnson, Tyler, Fillmore, King, Breckinridge, Hamlin, A. Johnson, Wilson, Wheeler, Hendricks, Hobart, Roosevelt, and Coolidge.

<sup>50</sup> Adams (Holland, 1782 and England, 1785); Jefferson (France, 1784); Dallas (Russia, 1837); King (France, 1844); Gerry was sent on a secret mission to France in 1797 and Fairbanks was a member of the United States and British joint commission which met in Quebec, 1898, for adjustment of Canadian questions.

<sup>51</sup> Dallas (Philadelphia); A. Johnson (Greeneville, Tenn.); Sherman (Utica, N.Y.); Coolidge (Northampton, Mass.)

<sup>52</sup> Burr (N.Y.); Van Buren (N.Y.); Dallas (Pa.).

<sup>53</sup> The statistics, *supra*, have been taken from biographies given in the *Biographical Congressional Directory*, *Dictionary of American Biography*, and the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.

<sup>54</sup> Six vice-presidents were not lawyers: Gerry, Colfax, Wilson, Morton, A. Johnson, and Roosevelt.

<sup>55</sup> Of the thirty-one presidents, excepting those who have come into office by way of the vice-presidency, twenty have been lawyers and six have not been college graduates: Washington, Taylor, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, and McKinley.

<sup>56</sup> *Supra*, n.9.

<sup>57</sup> McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>58</sup> Seven vice-presidents have died in office: Clinton, Gerry, King, Wilson, Hendricks, Hobart, and Sherman.

<sup>59</sup> H. B. Learned, "Casting Votes of the Vice-Presidents, 1789-1915," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 571 (April, 1915).

<sup>60</sup> M. A. Musmanno, *Proposed Amendments to the Constitution* (House Doc. 551, 70th Cong., 2nd Sess.), p. 80.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *House Rep.* 2492, 49th Cong., 1st Sess.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>65</sup> McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>66</sup> Musmanno, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>68</sup> Field, *loc. cit.*, p. 398 *et seq.*, gives an excellent summary of these proposals. C. O. Paulin, "The Vice-President and the Cabinet," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* (April, 1924), XXIX, 496, is a brief summary of the Vice-Presidents' small part in Cabinet history.

<sup>69</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, in discussing the subject, said: "The Vice-President should, so far as possible, represent the same views and principles which have secured the nomination and election of the President, and he should be a man standing well in the councils of the party, trusted by his fellow party leaders, and able in the event of any accident to his chief to take up the work of the latter where it was left." *American Ideals* (New York, 1910), p. 194.

# An Evaluation of the Soviet Five Year Plan

By C. O. ARNDT

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One of the great problems which is pressing contemporary society for solution is that of a readjustment of our social order to meet the advanced stage which our industrial development has reached. Since the advent of the industrial revolution we have been so much concerned about doing homage to the inventor that the workers in other fields of endeavor have been, if not totally ignored, certainly slighted in a marked degree. We are in this paper, however, concerned with the social field and man's attitude toward endeavors which are here being made to expedite development with the view of "catching up" with the premium-laden field of invention. We cannot halt the wheels of progress, we cannot forbid the inventor to devise further labor-saving machinery, but we can and must concern ourselves earnestly with the task of experimentation in the field of social science with the view of devising an invention that shall be able to cope with the persistent unemployment problem, which even in such years of plenty as 1928 and 1929 showed millions of unemployed, most of whom were willing to work if work could be found. Our annual charity drives, laudable and altruistic as they may be, are certainly not a solution to the problem. Neither is the English dole system, which appears to be more economical and efficient. Both are but frank admissions on the part of contemporary society that time is being marked until a solution may be devised. It is therefore with keen interest that the student of social science as well as the thinking citizen at large contemplates the great social experiment which is today being carried on by the Soviet Government in Russia. Even those of our people as are *a priori* biased with reference to anything smacking of Sovietism must admit that the joint efforts of one hundred fifty millions of people, who occupy one-sixth of the world's surface cannot be ignored. The Soviet Five Year Plan is deserving of our earnest study.<sup>1</sup> It represents a determined effort on the part of a major modern country to solve a most vital social problem, a problem which concerns not only America, but the entire world.

## WHAT IS THE SOVIET FIVE YEAR PLAN?

During the Tsarist régime the political administration followed a policy of isolation. Only under revolutionary pressure did the government give way to political reforms. Little effort was made

to encourage industrialization. Innovations were dreaded, lest they disturb the long established mode of government.<sup>2</sup> The time-hallowed formalism of the government found a counterpart in the Church. The people were placated on occasion by concatenations of titles which emphasized the dignity of the Tsarist régime as well as its alleged sanctity. The following serves as an interesting example:

By the grace of Almighty God, We, The Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod; the Tsar of Kazan, the Tsar of Astrakhan, the Chersonese, the Tsar of Georgia, the Potentate of Pskov and the Grand Duke of Smolensk, Lithuania, Vohynia, Podolia, and Finland; Prince of Estonia, Livonia, Courland and Semigallia, Samogitia, Belostok, Karelia Tver, Iugor, Perm, etc., etc.<sup>3</sup>

But the rest of the world, especially Europe, America, and Japan, were in the meantime busying themselves with the perfection and in turn utilization of numberless inventions which made it possible to manufacture commodities in fabulous proportions, and to shift the burden of work from the shoulders of man to those of the machine. Russia suddenly awakened to find herself doing things according to methods which had long since been discarded by the progressive nations of the world. So far had she been left behind with reference to industrialization that her only hope of "catching up" appeared to be by a concerted effort in which the entire working personnel of the country would be enlisted and forced to carry out the plans of a central body without deviation or question. These thoughts gave birth to the Five Year Plan.

The Five Year Plan, launched in October, 1928, represents an effort on the part of the Soviet Government to harness the energy of its citizenry in an attempt to expedite the industrialization of its vast resources. No effort is spared to ensure coöperation in the accomplishment of this project. Everywhere the Soviet hears it preached, sees it depicted. In this connection we would refer the reader to an interesting article by Eugene Lyon, entitled, "Soviet Attitude Toward Romance," which serves to substantiate the view given above.<sup>4</sup>

In a most fascinating book by the Soviet writer M. Ilin, entitled *New Russia's Primer*, the author outlines what Russia hopes to accomplish by its Five Year Plan. In the most simple language it describes the far reaching plans of economic betterment for the people of Russia in which the Govern-

ment of the Soviets is engaged. We quote from chapter two, in which the author compares the efforts of the Soviet Government with those of America.

#### *Two Countries*

1. The Project of Our Country. The Five Year Plan is a project: not of one factory, but of two thousand four hundred factories. And not only of factories, but also of cities, of electric stations, of bridges, of ships, of railroads, of mines, of state farms, of rural communes, of schools, of libraries. It is a project for the building of our whole country, and was prepared, not by one man or two men, but by thousands of trained persons. To the work of building came not tens, but millions of workers. All of us will help to build the Five Year Plan.

The plan was first discussed in December, 1927, at the fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party.

On October 1, 1928, its fulfillment was begun.

And before the end of 1929 it became clear that the plan will be achieved, not in five years, but much more quickly.

Such a project has never been undertaken before. America has many large factories, many more than we have. These factories turn out four automobiles a minute; there some buildings are sixty stories high; there a huge steel bridge was recently constructed in one day; there a million tractors work in the fields. The Americans are proud of their machines, of their factories.

But how do these factories work? According to some general plan, do you suppose? No, they work without a general plan.

2. What Happens When They Work Without a Plan. Mr. Fox acquires money—one million dollars. But money must not remain idle. Mr. Fox looks through newspapers, he consults friends, he employs agents. From morning till night the agents comb the city, look about, and make inquiries. What is to be done with the money of Mr. Fox?

At last a business is found. Hats! That is what one should make. Hats sell; men get rich.

There is nothing to hesitate about. Mr. Fox builds a hat factory.

The same idea occurs at the same time to Mr. Box, and Mr. Crox, and Mr. Nox. And they all begin to build hat factories simultaneously.

Within half a year there are several new hat factories in the country. Shops are filled to the ceiling with hat boxes. Storerooms are bursting with them. Everywhere there are posters, signs, advertisements: Hats, Hats, Hats. A great many more hats are made than are needed—twice as many, three times as many. And the factories continue to work at full speed. And here something happens that neither Mr. Fox, nor Mr. Box, nor Mr. Nox, nor Mr. Crox anticipated. The public stops buying hats.<sup>5</sup>

The writer then explains what efforts are made to revive business. He points out that depressions cannot but occur frequently in a country where centralized planning is absent.

A most thoroughgoing treatment of the Five Year Plan is found in Grinko's *The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union*.<sup>6</sup> The following are emphasized as objectives for the Five Year Plan.

1. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is, the destruction of the bourgeois state machine from top to bottom and the concentration of state power in the hands of the proletariat, which then becomes the organizer and leader of the national economy.

2. The nationalization of the land, factories, workshops, railroads, banks, etc., and the organization and systematic extension of the sphere of socialized production.

3. The monopoly of foreign trade and the strict regulation of economic relations with the capitalist economy of the world, with the view of bringing them fully into accord

with the plan for the construction of the socialist economy.

4. Undeviating limitation and the final elimination of the capitalist, exploiting elements in the villages—the kulaks; . . .

5. The essentially different attitude, as compared with capitalist society, of the Soviet economic system, and hence the Soviet State in general, toward the proletariat, peasantry, national minorities, backward regions, etc.

6. The fact that the great masses of the proletariat, agricultural laborers and poor peasantry, and the bulk of the intellectuals are deeply and vitally interested in the success of the socialist economy and the resulting increasing self-activity of the people. . . .

7. Finally, the ability, peculiar to the Soviet system, to concentrate at any given moment, under the guidance of a single thought and will, on the most important sectors of the general line of economic construction virtually all the combined resources of the State, the monopolistic political party, the trade unions, the peasant organizations, the state trusts, syndicates, banks, the coöperatives, the press, schools, etc.

The belief is widespread in this country as well as in Europe, that the Soviet Government hopes to accomplish its objectives with reference to the industrialization of Russia during the brief span of five years. Speculation as to what the Soviet Government will do and say at the expiration of this time of grace appears to favor the opinion that the Russian people will in any case be disillusioned, since obviously no utopia can be built within so short a span of time. This will in their opinion mark the breaking point of the Soviet experiment. But Russian writers and efficient Soviet propaganda<sup>7</sup> have already "broken the news" to the people at large. We again quote Grinko:

It might legitimately be asked, why just five years were chosen as the time basis for the planning of the economic development of the next period. Many were of the opinion that such a period does not answer the purpose and that it is necessary to start at once on the drafting of a general plan covering a period of, say, fifteen years of radical reconstruction and gigantic new construction in the field of economics and culture in the U.S.S.R. A period of five years certainly does not provide a framework large enough for the elaboration and solution of tasks of such magnitude as those which the Soviet Union faces. Nevertheless, it was necessary to forego the idea of proceeding immediately to the compilation of such a general plan and to recognize that as a transition stage the planning work had to be limited to the drafting of the Five Year Plan.<sup>8</sup>

As the enthusiastic citizen and soldier of the French Revolution felt urged to do mission work with his newly found doctrine of liberty, equality, and brotherhood, so the Soviet enthusiast feels himself called upon to make known the glad tidings to all people. Agents of the Soviet Government are active in all the countries of the world, especially those branded as leaders of capitalism. Europe and the Orient have been attacked with some measure of success.<sup>9</sup> America has not been neglected.<sup>10</sup> Let us consider what Russia has to offer by asking ourselves the question:

#### OF WHAT SIGNIFICANCE IS THIS PLAN TO US?

In reading and reflecting on the Five Year Plan the most persistent objection to us came from the



question as to whether the substitution of the *power motif*<sup>11</sup> for that of capital really marked an advance and predicated a nobler attitude toward man and his work of making a living. We do know that the capitalistic system of America has permitted the hearts of its followers to be warmed at the sight of poverty and need. Never in the history of the United States has more money been donated to charity than during the past two years. And our charity has not been confined to our own shores. But what has Russia done and what is she doing to alleviate the suffering of her poor and needy? They number millions. The edict issued during the fall of 1931 forbidding the use of coal in private homes is still vivid. Regardless of suffering and privation amongst her own people the Soviet Government has been exporting wheat and other essentials in order that the Five Year Plan might go on unhampered. Russia's power motif has certainly not been conducive to the practice of altruism, which in our opinion is the highest ideal toward which mankind has thus far learned to strive.<sup>12</sup>

The efforts of Soviet Russia have thus far been concentrated on industrialization. Contemporary Soviet writers make free mention of socialization but recorded effort thus far has been directed toward the establishment of factories and an industrial system. The promise of attention to social needs has been made, but history veils its achievement.

Could the Five Year Plan be made to function in the United States? Soviet writers are emphatic in their pronouncements of success thus far attained in the accomplishment of the Five Year Plan, but there is hardly a hint about the wholesale suppression of liberty involved in its execution; nor is there any consideration of the status of the individual in the new civilization projected unless it be that every Russian will then have more goods to consume and more comfort.

What Russia is trying to accomplish is in fact an approximation of the American standard of living. It is interesting to note that the many illustrations of projects contained, for instance, in M. Ilin's *New Russia's Primer* are taken directly from American life. We see pictures of familiar farm implements, factories, sky scrapers, and the like. But what will Russia do after she has accomplished industrialization, after she achieves what America has accomplished? Will she not find that the docile Russian of today to whom most everything beyond the bare necessities of life is luxury, will be less tractable? Mankind is reluctant to give up luxuries—in due season they become necessities. Will the Russian in days when five year plans will have ef-

fectured the enjoyment of luxury be as docile as he is today? With their noses to the grindstone of industrialization Soviet writers do not comment on this question. To the American it is a question of prime import.

Despite the observation made above, the Five Year Plan of Soviet Russia does bring a vital message to the Western world, to the America of today. The great weakness in our system is not the quality of production but the uncontrolled quantity. Our periodic depressions are disheartening, demoralizing. The sane American business man would by far prefer to have a smaller profit regularly than a large profit spasmodically. He has frequently expressed himself to this effect. Our economists, business men, and citizens are calling for a regulation of production in order to lessen the curves that mark our good from our bad years. And cannot this be accomplished in capitalistic America as well as in Soviet Russia?

The Soviet experiment is a challenge to our intelligence. Their problem is to accomplish what we already enjoy; ours one more advanced, namely, to create a better ordered economic machinery which will not necessitate our discarding what thus far we have wrung from Nature but permit us to use it as a torch with which to continue to blaze the trail to a better, fuller life for every American citizen. And we shall do it without the sacrifice of our most cherished prerogative, that of private initiative.

<sup>1</sup> Bye, Raymond T., "Central Planning and Coördination of Production in Soviet Russia," *American Economic Review, Suppl.*, March, 1929, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Chase, Dunn, and Tugwell, *Soviet Russia*, New York, The John Day Co., 1928, pp. 3-13.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Batsell, W. R., *Soviet Rule in Russia*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lyons, Eugene, "Soviet Attitude Toward Romance," *Current History*, November, 1931, pp. 198-203.

<sup>5</sup> Ilin, M., *New Russia's Primer*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 5-7.

<sup>6</sup> Grinko, G. T., *The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union*, New York, International Publishers, 1930, pp. 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> Chase, Dunn, and Tugwell, *Soviet Russia*, New York, The John Day Co., 1928, pp. 149-50.

<sup>8</sup> Grinko, G. T., *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>9</sup> Chamberlin, William Henry, *Soviet Russia*, Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1930, p. 410.

<sup>10</sup> Batsell, W. R., *Soviet Rule in Russia*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929, pp. 755-806.

<sup>11</sup> Vocovich, "Russian Workers Under Iron Heel," *Current History*, June, 1921, pp. 343 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Hoover, Calvin B., *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1931, p. 337: "To a foreign observer it appears that violence has come to be inseparable from Communism. It is not only in the village that class warfare is preached. It is possible to believe that 'liquidation of the kulaki as a class' will bring an end to violence. . . . It seems likely that the supply of victims for persecution could be successfully maintained even if the last remnants of the 'exploiting classes' were to be finally eliminated. Militant hatred has become perhaps the most prominent psychological characteristic of Russian Communism."

# Depression—Blame the Social Sciences?

By IRA F. NESTOR  
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For the past three years the world has been very sick. No one wants to take the blame for its condition. These periodic recurrences prove terribly annoying. Despite our several decades of popular education immunization against them has not been achieved. We talk about and chart the past happenings only to do little about avoiding the evils they bring. It would seem that we are over fond of accusing the other fellow for some of our sins. The economic smash of 1929 was inevitable. Business had blown a bubble that would not stand any more strain. The Federal Trade Commission was and still is investigating the inflated power enterprises. Most astounding facts were found and reported. A dime was shown to have been represented worth a dollar in valuing some of them. Many public officials and bond salesmen suspected that the situation was dangerous. Personal interests kept too many of them from doing their duties lest there be created unnecessary disturbances. That "dividends" were coming pointed to a fair probability that business might weather the storms. We know now that not all the "dividends" were earned.

These facts bring to us the question of accounting. The juggling of statistics for making appear good what was rotten is already too evident. As an example, one bond house employed on its selling staff a graduate of a famous business school, a book on accounting by him was published by a reputable concern, he had been a professor in a noted school, in short, one felt that what he said was something of superior merit. In spite of all this background he gave some of the most worthless advice about the use of savings. This house was given a first class rating by a world famous organization. It paid ten per cent on its stock. The securities it sold could be insured for one-half of one per cent. The salesmen said insuring was really wasting money since the security was all that one wanted for safety. "Bonds that never lost a dollar," "forty years without loss to any investor" and similar slogans lured from teachers, lawyers, preachers, doctors, clerks, waitresses, widows, their earnings, tips, fees, insurance money, inheritances. A great part of these investments is lost at the time of life when there is no hope of being able to replace it.

An intriguing sort of investment is being offered to the unwary as a thrift certificate. It works often to loss of interest even if one gets the principal. The plan in a general way promises six per cent on savings over a period of years. That seems fair

enough. The rub comes, however, in case there are unpaid installments. Then it is that the buyer is actually penalized for having ever tried to save. One of these companies offered one-tenth of one per cent interest on an adjustment. When sufficient influential pressure was brought to bear, and after long delay and much correspondence, the company wormed out with "mistake." One of these companies represented that for every dollar of face value of the certificates sold there was deposited with state authorities one dollar and ten cents in pledges. Inquiry made of those officers brought the reply that the information sought was privileged, not for public consumption. Quite recently those same officers were told by the attorney general that the state should refuse longer to hold the pledges, even *if it had any*. The officer in another state, supposedly rendering a like service, told me that it was none of my business whether securities sold under his license were good or not, and he added gratuitously that any one making purchases ought to know what he was buying, regardless.

Our periodical press has not been guiltless. The best magazines and financial publications have carried advertising that led to losses for those buying. Readers were assured that only after careful investigation and checking against membership in a national investment association was their space sold. It is true that these publications have to fight hard for their existence and it is improbable that any of them would knowingly make false statements, yet because of the faith we humble folks have in them we suffer from that overconfidence.

Political practices give us something to worry about too. "Fix" is only slightly concealed. It may be an assessor whose salary of a few thousand dollars grows to some six hundred thousand dollars income, or a well-to-do contractor sent to the state legislature, or a ward committeeman whose business connections are such that he can spend thousands of dollars on baby parks and civic improvements, and for this *sacrifice* is endorsed by the dearest old ladies. But a surprising fact about each of these three is that he is so innocent that he has no income to report until Federal authorities give him an airing in court. Akin to him is the professional who for an annual fee will reveal to any one how other changes in income may be made and for personally bringing about those changes will take one-third of such savings for himself.

Until society becomes conscious of these condi-

tions they must go on. Our governments are not self acting. Officers must be nominated by individuals. Most of those who do the *real* nominating have too few assets to prevent their seeking some reward. Since voluntary gifts without strings attached are scarce, about the only way left for financing campaigns is through spoils and the "fix." Unpleasant?

The disrespect for property is a matter of concern. The other day a rice grower said that a guard must be kept on the plantation to prevent the wilful destruction of thousand dollar pumps so that the wrecker could get five dollars' worth of brass. It is a lucky empty container of any kind that escapes crushing by the first boy who spies it. An unoccupied building is soon demolished; of course some of them ought to be. It is an unusual school room that is without mar. Recently a well dressed man on leaving a meeting of notable persons where he had discussed moral matters dropped his program on the carefully kept lawn. Public park officials and attendants are constantly in tantrums.

Do school athletics escape the "fix"? Worthy as the ideals for them are a very dubious product results. School sentiment demands approving low academic standing. Graduation from school savors often of riddance and statistical exhibition.

The task of making the social sciences shoulder their responsibilities is terrifying. The cost of preparation and the slow recognition of fundamentals frighten us. The social sciences are not furnishing the principles needed for an active and alert citizenry. Much excellent work is done. But there is a need for more emphasis on the daily raw contacts. Can that need be supplied by teachers who make the calling a refuge from failure elsewhere or by those who exploit youth in order to rise personally?

What more can be done? Tell the truth. The consequences can't be worse than the ones we endure now. To tell the truth doesn't require one to be either a radical or a propagandist. We have plenty of work ahead of us.

## Methods of Teaching History Through Biography

By ANNIE A. KARTOZIAN

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History has for years been an important subject in school curricula. However, there are many criticisms of its content and the current methods of presentation. It is said that history is too "dry," too factual, too impractical. The writer does not believe that the biographical presentation of history will answer all these charges. However, if this method is carefully studied and employed by able and conscientious teachers, some of these criticisms may become less persistent or may even disappear entirely.

This study was an attempt to collect methods, devices, and procedures for the teaching of history through biography as suggested by writers on the subject and by teachers in the field. The major emphasis was placed on the collection or bringing together of these methods and devices from as many different sources as possible. No attempt was made to collect theories and principles of the teaching of either history or biography. An effort was made to collect concrete or objective material only. The methods included were not designed for any one course or grade of history. These methods were presented without systematic evaluation with the hope that the reader would select methods best adapted to his personal ability as a teacher.

The study was carried on under the direction of Dr. C. C. Crawford, Professor of Education at the University of Southern California. The writer used the technique as suggested by Dr. Crawford in his *Technique of Research in Education*.<sup>1</sup> First the difficulties in the teaching of history through biography were analyzed. These difficulties were classified into ten major heads. Specific methods were collected to solve the problems presented by these major difficulties. The collection of methods was carried on until scarcely any new methods were reported. It is, therefore, the hope of the writer that the field was fairly well covered.

### I. ADVANTAGES OF TEACHING HISTORY THROUGH BIOGRAPHY

The many advantages reported by teachers seem to indicate that the method of teaching history through biography is worthy of consideration. The advantages reported are as follows:

1. Biography is the human way to teach history.
2. The individual is a simpler subject for study than principles, movements, or trends.
3. Biography is more interesting to the pupils than an array of facts or events.



4. Biography develops character.
5. Youth is naturally the period of heroworship. Pupils need good heroes to "worship."
6. Biography appeals strongly to the pupils' dramatic interest and imagination.
7. Biography prepares for the study of social groups and movements.
8. Biography prepares for the study of social and political principles.
9. Biography gives an intimate knowledge of manners and customs.
10. Biography makes history vital and concrete.
11. The pupils will remember more historical facts if they are linked up with great personalities.
12. Biography helps to overcome race prejudice.
13. Biography helps to develop a taste for good books.

## II. LIMITATIONS OF TEACHING HISTORY THROUGH BIOGRAPHY

A teacher must have in mind the limitations of a method if he is to use that method wisely. A knowledge of the disadvantages of this method of history teaching is of value to the teacher because he is then aware of the problems he will meet. Being aware of them, he will be able to meet them more satisfactorily. Teachers reported the following limitations:

1. All events cannot be taught biographically.
2. Biography gives an exaggerated view of the individual.
3. Biography does not deal adequately with the story of movements.
4. Social and political principles are in danger of being lost through a biographical study.
5. The pupils cannot get an adequate sense of historical sequence through biography.
6. Biography contains regrettable facts which should not be presented to the pupils.
7. It is difficult to find representative characters in some periods.
8. The characters of interest to the pupils may not be representative.
9. Biography encourages militarism.
10. Biography encourages undesirable heroworship.
11. School library facilities are not adequate for such a course.

## III. HOW TO SELECT THE CHARACTERS WHOSE LIVES ARE TO BE STUDIED

The first problem to be considered in the teaching of historical biography is that of selecting the men and women whose lives are to be studied. The chief methods are listed below:

1. Ask experienced teachers about their selections.

2. Question librarians, scholars, and others interested in the field.

3. Inquire at large educational booksellers.
4. Send questionnaires to teachers, authors, and professors.

5. Select men and women most often mentioned in the best history text-books.

6. List the great movements of history and select the characters most significant within those movements.

7. List the periods of history and select the representative men of each period.

8. List the outstanding social and political principles and then select the characters who best portray them.

9. Select men and women whose influence is still living in the present.

10. Select historical characters which are first of all human characters.

11. Select men and women of all nations and classes.

12. Select some characters whose lives portray the undesirable for the purpose of contrast.

13. When making a selection of characters take into consideration the foreign pupils in the class.

14. Study the interests and probable future status of the pupils before selecting the characters.

15. Be guided by the pupils' ethical welfare.

16. Investigate the materials available to the pupils.

17. Have in mind the number of weeks the course is to cover.

18. Find out what characters are already familiar to the pupils.

19. Consider the qualifications you have as a teacher when selecting the characters to be studied.

20. Ask the pupils to list the characters indispensable to the development of the period being studied.

21. Make a list of the names of historical characters found on maps, on monuments, and in the names of philanthropic and charitable institutions.

## IV. HOW TO SELECT THE SPECIAL BIOGRAPHIES OF THE CHARACTERS TO BE STUDIED

After carefully selecting the men and women whose lives are to be studied, the teacher must decide which biographies of those lives are best adapted to his work. Teachers report the following methods of dealing with this problem of selection:

1. Select accurate biographies.
2. Select biographies adapted to the needs of the present.
3. Select a biography true to the best principles of Americanism.
4. Select biographies containing all the important facts of a life.

5. Select a biography free from prejudice.
6. Do not select the sentimental biography.
7. Select biographies written for the age group in the class.
8. Select biographies written in an interesting style.
9. Select a book with good type.
10. Select a book with pictures and an attractive binding.

#### V. HOW TO DETERMINE THE TRUTH OR FACT IN BIOGRAPHY

The teacher who is selecting a biography for his class in historical biography will be confronted with the problem of finding the truthful biography. He will need to decide, also, just how he will deal with doubtful material. Various methods have been mentioned by teachers of history as follows:

1. Study primary sources rather than secondary sources.
2. Establish the genuineness of a document before considering it as a true source.
3. Compare the statements of reliable authors.
4. Discover as much evidence as possible relative to the statement or material in question.
5. Trace the historical statement in question to the testimony of contemporaries.
6. Consult the private letters and diaries which have been established as genuine.
7. Do not accept the testimony of oral tradition as being authentic.
8. Consult the volumes of *Who's Who* for facts concerning characters who have lived since the year 1899-1900.
9. Consider the author's reputation and the standing of the publisher.
10. Do not rely on the biased or "popularity seeking" authors.
11. When two differing opinions seem equally valid, present them both to the pupils.
12. Present legendary material as legend.
13. Do not teach what you know will have to be unlearned.
14. Do not trifle with details which cannot be proved.
15. Allow the pupils to help in trying to prove material correct or incorrect.

#### VI. HOW TO PRESENT THE REGRETTABLE FACTS IN BIOGRAPHY

The teacher must decide how to deal with regrettable facts of biography before actual class presentation begins. Teachers report a number of helpful methods in dealing with this problem:

1. Teach nothing but the good.
2. Note regrettable facts frankly.
3. Tell the truth about regrettable facts only when asked.

4. Include some regrettable facts for the purpose of contrast.

5. Emphasize the desirable in biography more than the undesirable.

6. Place first emphasis on the contributions of characters.

7. Do not attempt to justify the regrettable facts of a life.

8. Avoid unnecessary vividness of detail.

9. Do not use the discussion of these facts as an occasion for "preaching."

10. Bring out the underlying causes of these regrettable facts and show how they may have been avoided.

11. Stress the overcoming of faults rather than the faults themselves.

12. Study the type of pupils in the class before determining the methods to use.

#### VII. HOW TO AVOID GIVING AN EXAGGERATED VIEW OF THE INDIVIDUAL

When history is presented through biography, the individual tends to hold a place of prominence which he may not deserve. History teachers who were interviewed reported the following ways of keeping the individual in a biography course in the right place:

1. Subordinate the individual to the movement.
2. Lead from the study of the individual to the study of social groups.
3. Show that great personalities play only one part on the stage of national life.
4. Show that the greatest characters were those who identified themselves with the group.
5. Show that an individual is dependent upon other individuals for his success.
6. Do not allow too much time to be spent on one character.
7. Ask the pupils to find a present day counterpart of famous characters.

#### VIII. HOW TO AVOID ENCOURAGING MILITARISM

The significant contributions of the peace-time hero are usually lost in the glamour and enthusiasm with which the pupils view the contributions of the military hero. Teachers report the following methods of dealing with the military hero and the discussion of war:

1. When presenting military heroes, stress the courage of men in the non-military fields of endeavor.
2. Stress the constructive results of militarism rather than its destructive work.
3. Show that the greatness of the warrior lay in the risking of his own life for others.
4. Place emphasis on the civic and character qualities of the military hero.

5. Show that the greatest heroism is not physical but moral.

6. Show that military genius lay in the ability to use the forces at disposal as economically as possible.

7. Show how military men have torn down the constructive work of others.

8. Have the class decide in what other fields the genius of military heroes may have been used.

9. Do not glorify war.

10. Lead from a discussion of war to a discussion of peace.

11. Show how the apparently desirable outcomes of war may have been otherwise obtained.

12. Build up in the pupils the disposition to settle all international disputes by arbitration.

13. Show that the immediate result of a conflict never decides which side is in the right.

14. Show that war is an outgrowth of questionable desires.

15. Do not allow the pupils to engage in a discussion of the "next war."

#### IX. HOW TO DEVELOP ADEQUATE IDEAS OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE THROUGH BIOGRAPHY

One of the objections most frequently raised against teaching history through biography is that the pupils will get a "staccato" conception of historical sequence in such a course. An adequate idea of historical sequence has been developed by teachers through the following methods:

1. Divide the course into periods and teach the periods according to their time sequence.

2. Select events of the course in sequence and group men about these events.

3. Select individuals whose lives give continuity.

4. Build only a framework of sequence by giving only the most important dates which may serve as pegs to hang facts on.

5. Do not present the time element in a "railway time-table" form.

6. Connect the past and present by characters presented in reverse chronological order; i.e., teach history backwards.

7. Tie the biographies of a course together during the final review.

8. Ask the pupils to keep "character sheets" which are to be placed in a loose-leaf notebook in the order in which the characters lived.

9. Have the pupils prepare a "Who's Who" for a given period or course.

10. Have the pupils make a "biography tree," the lower branches of which bear the names of the earlier characters of the course.

11. Use a time chart on which the characters studied are given their chronological places.

12. Ask for reports on characters with the older pupils representing the earlier characters.

13. Give each pupil the name of a character and have an "historical-sequence" seating arrangement in the room.

14. Play games which center about some scheme of teaching historical sequence.

#### X. HOW TO GET PROPER EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES THROUGH BIOGRAPHY

Though intangible, social and political principles have motivated and helped, thereby, to make history. The teacher of biographical history must place the necessary emphasis on social and political principles. The following methods have been reported by teachers for accomplishing this purpose:

1. Select characters that objectify social and political principles.

2. Start with the study of the individual and lead to the study of the principles he objectified.

3. Point out the influence of social and political principles in the lives of the characters studied.

4. Show how the same governing principles produced like men even in different periods of history.

5. Hold a debate between two famous people who are to defend the conflicting principles they held.

6. Give "identification principles" for each character studied.

#### XI. HOW TO USE BIOGRAPHY AS A CHARACTER BUILDER

Biographical history deals in a very direct way with life. Hence the possibilities of teaching citizenship and developing character through such a course are great. The following methods and devices were reported:

1. Select characters whose lives objectify great principles.

2. Select some characters whose lives will, by contrast, show the desirable against the undesirable.

3. Select characters which will give the pupils good heroes to "worship."

4. Show the errors to be avoided.

5. Show that the low and base must be condemned as well as the noble and brave praised.

6. Stress the small services of famous people.

7. Encourage the pupils to be generous in giving deserved credit.

8. Show that citizenship begins before adult life.

9. Study the motives back of the actions of men.

10. Ask the pupils to bring into present day



life the famous characters of the past and to suggest what problems they would tackle.

11. Ask the pupils to list the reasons for the greatness of the heroes of biography.

12. Ask the pupils to list the character traits they most admire in famous characters.

13. Decide with the class which contributions of a famous person will be mentioned in the history text of the next century.

14. Allow the pupils to have a Hall of Fame selecting themselves the personages to be included.

15. Hold a debate on the question of the relative worth to two characters.

16. Give character judgment tests.

17. Have the pupils keep a list of famous sayings of great characters.

18. Ask the pupils to report or write on the problems faced by famous people of history.

## XII. HOW TO VITALIZE BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

Many of the methods previously listed will help to vitalize biographical history. However, the following miscellaneous practices were also reported by teachers interviewed:

1. Try as many new plans as possible.

2. Allow the first reading of the course to be for sheer enjoyment—just “for fun.”

3. Give a short preliminary talk about the character to be studied.

4. Present impersonal material to give the pupils the necessary background.

5. Use historical films.

6. Use maps and sketches.

7. Try to build up a “biography atmosphere” in the room.

8. Have an “interesting fact day” when the pupils bring in unusual facts and anecdotes found in their reading.

9. Special days devoted to certain characters.

10. Ask the pupils to report on the famous characters from their native states.

11. Ask foreign students to report on famous characters of their countries.

12. Ask pupils who are descendants of famous characters to report on them.

13. Ask the pupils to write autobiographical papers imagining themselves to have been with famous people.

14. Ask the pupils to write letters and diaries supposed to have been written by famous people.

15. Ask the pupils to write original plays or skits portraying incidents from the lives of the characters studied.

16. Have a “famous character poster” contest.

17. Start a small museum.

18. Encourage the pupils to take pictures of historic scenes.

19. Ask the pupils to draw pictures and caricatures of historic scenes and characters.

20. Make a biography map, pasting on it the names and pictures of famous characters.

21. Have a picture identification test with the Hall of Fame characters.

22. Have parties in honor of historical characters.

23. Let the pupils dramatize historic events.

24. Make use of historical guessing games, charades, etc.

25. Suggest interesting items for a note-book, such as pages for the childhood of famous characters, pages of interesting anecdotes, etc.

26. Make the bulletin board a vital part of the course by posting the pictorial life history of characters, cartoons, and collateral and novel lists.

<sup>1</sup> Crawford, Claude C., *Technique of Research of Education*, Los Angeles, University of Southern California, 1928, pp. 137-156.

## Notes on Periodical Literature

By GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS, PH.D.

Paul G. Carney writing on the “German Situation” in the *Catholic World* for November says: “At a recent date a new campaign has been opened up against German trade undoubtedly at French instigation. The basic objection to the abolition of reparations is the fear on France’s part that Germany, once she is free from this burden, will again become a most dangerous rival. . . . Germany would be far from free even if the reparations were cancelled. In the event that such an occasion should arise, France, England and the other allies would be free from liabilities and would have gained the enormous sums already paid . . . Germany . . . would still be virtually buried under the heavy burden of private internal loans which have been acquired under the Dawes and Young plans in an effort to pay the amount stipulated by those plans.”

The siege of Washington by the Bonus Army last summer is discussed with a fine understanding of its significance by Fleta Campbell Springer in the November *Harper’s*. In the same magazine George Milburn analyzes Mr. Garner’s statesmanship, and Charles Willis Thompson in his “Wanted: Political Courage,” surveys the last two decades of America’s political progress.

The fall number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has new installments of the following articles: “Bamford’s Diary, the Journal of a British officer during the American Revolution”; “Papers relating to Officers of Customs in North America, transcripts from papers of the Treasury Office in the British State Papers Office”; “Account-books and letter-books of Dr. Charles Carroll,” and Everett Obrecht’s study of Luther Martin and the Constitution.

# The Unit Mastery Technique as Applied to the Teaching of History

By ANNA VIRGINIA WELCH

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## ORIGIN OF THE METHOD

In 1925 the Seattle Board of Education invited Dr. W. C. Reavis of the University of Chicago to come to Seattle and instruct the teachers of the Public Schools in the use of the unit mastery technique. Dr. Reavis was with us for a month lecturing every afternoon and evening. He returned again in 1929 and spent two weeks in lecturing and surveying the work being done in the unit method in the various schools.

The principals of those schools where the unit method is most generally used say that there is a very decided change in the general morale and spirit of the entire school. Of course this is inevitable as both teacher and pupil come to understand more clearly the main objective to be accomplished, and approach their work with this viewpoint clearly in mind.

If the pupil understands the reasons why he is asked to work in a particular way, he will work more cheerfully and intelligently. There is less likelihood of any serious objection to the increased energy required on his part in the mastery of a unit. For there is no doubt but that mastery technique requires more energy on the part of each individual pupil than the daily recitation method, more ability to concentrate over a longer period of time, and more skill in organizing work. In short, the responsibility is thrown on the individual pupil. There is no longer any chance for the lazy loafer to absorb from the other members of the class.

And so, on the first day spent with a new class the objectives of the method are explained. It is pointed out that the important thing to be accomplished is not mere memorization of a number of isolated facts, but that facts are of use only in enabling a pupil to form certain attitudes which, if actually acquired, are permanently his. Eventually, these attitudes will help him to adjust himself better to the changing conditions of his environment. Instead of being confused by the problems of citizenship when they confront him, he will be able to solve them wisely. He is told also that the longer periods of uninterrupted study will help him to form the habit of prolonged concentration, and that instead of depending on the teacher for stimulus he will gradually learn to create his own in-

terest. Where pupils express some enthusiasm over the presentation of a unit, I take the opportunity to explain that my own interest led me to search for these facts—that I had no one to tell them to me, and that the same privilege is theirs. I also tell the class that I do not ask anyone to make my decisions for me—in fact, I would resent it; that the educated man does not follow herd opinion, but is capable of forming his own opinions. This ability to become intellectually self-dependent is the result of training in systematic methods of thinking, and the year's work is to help the members of the class to acquire these mental habits. This understanding on the part of the class of what we are trying to accomplish is all important.

Next an explanation is made of why the work is divided into units rather than into daily assignments. These units are so organized that they may get a clear understanding of certain very definite developments or movements which have played a prominent part in shaping our present political and social conditions. In organizing each unit, only such material is chosen as will best enable the pupil to grasp the meaning of the movement as a whole. Across the street lay a pile of bricks. A house was in process of being built. The individual brick was not in itself of importance, but only as it was used to make the completed structure. Day by day we saw more clearly the final form the house was to take, until at last it was completed. So must the pupil work with facts, using only those that would enable him to understand the particular movement on which he is working. Facts in themselves are of importance only as they produce a definite perspective of an entire unit.

## ARRANGEMENTS OF UNITS

Units are not arranged chronologically. After considerable experiment, I have arranged my course in United States History into the six following units:

- I. Europeans and European Civilization on a Virgin Continent.
- II. New World Experiments in Government.
- III. The Successive Frontiers and Their Reaction on Our Social and Political Institutions.
- IV. The Era of Industrial Expansion.

### V. Progressive Democracy.

### VI. From Isolation to World Power.

The routine of the second day's work with a class is the giving of a pre-test on the unit. The particular form this takes must be adapted to the type of pupils with whom one is dealing. My experience has been that in working with high-school groups the pre-test has not disclosed sufficient knowledge of the unit to justify excusing anyone from work on it. Frequently, parts may be omitted. An oral pre-test, however, is very useful in motivating a unit and arousing interest and enthusiasm. It is time well spent. Most of the members of a class take a lively interest in the discussion growing out of it, and so unwittingly arouse their own mental curiosity and furnish their own stimulus for the study that is to follow.

The third day I give a presentation which is an overview of the entire unit, or perhaps only part of it, depending on the nature of the unit. The correct viewpoint and definite understanding of the unit, or the picture of the completed brick house that is to be built depends on the skill of the presentation. The teacher's interpretation places the class in an intelligent attitude toward the study that is to follow. The preview, then, does not deal with detailed facts or individual bricks, but with the main essentials for the grasping of the movement in its entirety. This presentation gives an opportunity for the pupil to learn to listen, and to register points given, and then to react to them in a written report which he hands in next day. Needless to say, these reactions are often a revelation.

Those pupils who show in their written report that they failed to get the trend of the presentation are asked to write another paper after a second presentation, for it is just as necessary in history as in mathematics that the pupil should have a clear understanding of the problem before he begins work on it.

After the presentation follows that part of the work which is most interesting to both teacher and pupil, namely, the period of assimilation. The classroom now becomes a study room, or laboratory. In the front of the room are open book shelves extending the full width of the room. This classroom library is the most important part of the equipment used in the assimilative period. In my room are about one hundred and fifty titles, and there are five or six duplicates of most of these titles. The books have been selected carefully, recognizing a variety of taste and a variety of capacity to read. As an example, the bright pupil will delight in the reading of Charles and Mary Beard's *Rise of American Civilization*, or one of the Yale Press Series, as John Moody's *Masters of Capital* and the *Railroad Builders*. The book shelves are open as an

invitation to use the books without let or hindrance. At the close of school they may be drawn out just as in the case of library books. Pocket and card are in the back of the book. They are returned in the morning before class time. A reliable pupil is appointed to look after these details.

The teacher's desk is in the most inconspicuous part of the room—the far back corner, for police patrol work is no longer necessary. Disciplining is a lost art, or rather a gained art, because now the student has a decidedly different attitude toward his work. A business-like atmosphere pervades the room. The student on entering hurries to get his favorite book. He goes to work immediately for he has something definite to do. There is none of the visiting with neighbors while waiting for the teacher to get ready to proceed with class work.

### GUIDE SHEETS

A mimeographed guide sheet containing the organization of the unit has been placed in the hands of each student. The pre-test and presentation have prepared him for the intelligent use of this guide sheet. On it is a brief outline of the main points of the unit. I have found a brief outline more workable than a more detailed form, which tended to divert the attention of the pupil from the viewpoint of the particular author he is reading. The more detailed outline led him to hunt for certain specific facts indicated in the outline. Below the outline are references by author, title, and page to books where material may be found.

During this period of assimilation, the pupil is learning the art of systematic study, prolonged concentration, organization of material, and self-dependence. Besides, he is acquiring all those products that come from the study of social science, summed up under the familiar term "historical mindedness." He takes pride in being able to work out a problem by himself, for it has been pointed out to him that he must educate himself—no one else can, and it is only what he finds out for himself that is of lasting value. From this point on, the teacher's work is with the individual pupil from seat to seat. My experience has been that it is impossible to get results and remain seated at the desk. If one is working among the pupils, they will ask many more questions. For instance, a dozen pupils wanted an explanation of what was meant by "midnight judges," thinking perhaps that the judiciary had gone in for night clubs. So the teacher acts as guide and director, helping the weak pupil to understand some difficult point and entering into the pleasure of discovery with the bright pupil.

Most difficulties can be settled without interrupting the class as a whole, but if there is a general misunderstanding of some point, study is stopped



for a few minutes to clear up the matter. Some pupil who has grasped the point volunteers an explanation which often develops into a few minutes of general discussion, and, in a way, takes the place of the old stereotyped recitation. The difficulty is clarified, and study is resumed. The pupils themselves prohibit lengthy interruptions, because they are anxious to get back to work.

It seems much better to work intimately with the pupils each day, and prevent mistakes, or discover them as they are made, rather than spend long hours in correcting them after they are made. Of course objections are offered that the high-school pupil cannot read intelligently, cannot discriminate between important and unimportant facts, cannot draw conclusions from what he reads, or form judgments; but if he hasn't these abilities, there is all the more reason why he should be trained in them before he reaches the university or becomes a member of the much harped on "machine age." The organization of notes taken should be in outline form by all means. Copying verbatim entire paragraphs from the text becomes a mere mechanical process without the exercising of any judgment in the organization of work, without even the act of concentration. The pupil can easily write and dream of his next social engagement. He is reminded that a beautifully written notebook is not alone evidence of mastery.

#### TESTING ON THE UNIT

At the close of the study period, which has continued for about three weeks, tests are given to enable both teacher and pupil to find out if the meaning of the unit has actually been assimilated. These tests are not tests for facts and details, but rather on the understanding of the unit, and attitudes acquired because of that understanding. The questions in the test are so arranged that one question leads logically to the one following, and thus the pupil's recall is not jerked from one line of thought to another entirely different, or from one period of time to another. Tests are reworked, questions which were poorly worded are eliminated, others improved, and the test kept for future use. It would be a boon to the teacher if some publishing house could put out a good set of test questions.

After the tests and while some of the pupils are going back over certain phases of the unit, which the test showed they had not fully understood, those who have completed the assimilation now begin work on the supplementary projects. One form of supplementary work found to be highly satisfactory is that of questions which summarize the main points of the unit. Answering these questions gives the pupil a chance to make an organized, well thought-out application of what he has learned, to

use his power to select material, to interpret, to analyze, and to exercise judgment in drawing conclusions.

Organization of the unit brings the group together again. This takes the form of some sort of written summary of the pupil's understanding of the unit as a whole. In brief, it is the pupil's overview of the period studied, and seldom takes more than one period of time. Then follows the recitation proper, in which certain pupils are selected to recite on various phases of the problem. These recitations are made from the front of the room, and give the pupil a chance to make oral use of his mastery. They also turn the class into a socialized group, because at the end of the recitation the pupils invariably raise questions for discussion in which a large number will have a chance to show their reaction to the study. The pupil who has recited still occupies the floor, and acts as leader in conducting the discussion, the teacher meanwhile keeping very much in the background. How much better it is that pupils should be trained to talk only after they have learned something to talk about, than to be permitted to air their own views before they are familiar with facts! Then, too, pupils become aware of the added assurance that comes when they know that they have authority back of what they are saying. The recitation reveals the mental growth that has been taking place during the period of study. The pupil who was in the habit of monopolizing the recitation from day to day does not at first like the prolonged period of quiet study, but when he realizes the additional power that he has gained because of it he joys in the mastery that is his.

More than ever is it necessary for the schools, through the foundation laid for correct thinking, to turn out trained minds. As our social and political conditions change, so must our methods in school change. Easy tasks in the classroom in no way equip for the tackling of highly technical problems, such as the tariff. Yet pupils, as future citizens, must meet and solve these problems. If our democratic education does not accomplish this it has been futile. The unit mastery technique as developed by Professor H. C. Morrison of the University of Chicago, training as it does for development of attitudes, mental application over long periods, and self-dependence in the classroom, is designed to produce a generation of thinkers to offset a bankruptcy of intellectual leadership.

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Giuseppe Piazza, writing in the September number of the *Nuova Antologia*, sees in the present situation in Germany, the beginnings of a return to monarchy. Old Germany has been awakened, he says, by the National-socialists and all events of recent weeks point to the re-entry of the Hohenzollerns.

# The Unit Plan in Social Science *versus* the Social Subjects

By PROFESSOR DONNAL V. SMITH  
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It has long been an accepted principle among historians that history must be rewritten each generation. New facts are learned; new experiences modify old facts and demand reinterpretation. From time to time, this has caused a shift in the general theme of history. After the political interpretation came the economic and then the social theme. Less than a year ago, an eminent historian published the first volume of a work presenting culture as the central theme of history. From this, it may be concluded that historians themselves are ready to admit that their field changes constantly and that new interpretations must be made.

Although historical method may be correctly termed scientific, history is not always so. Historians inevitably think in the realm of words. Their constant contact with books, documents, and manuscripts makes their effort the reconstruction of a past that may have relatively little value in actual living. They realize the power of words and their pens often create styles of literature, but they are not manual workers, and frequently they fail to realize that man's hands are as important and more specifically human than his utterances.

More and more, present day living is demanding that history reveal the account of man's method of living, and the men who did most to change the living modes were not those who thought or even wrote about them, but those who silently and efficiently performed their tasks. History, therefore, is not necessarily a preparation for living. The knowledge it imparts need not be important or essential, and at best is only partial. To illustrate, it is only necessary to point out that it is a well known historical fact that ancient Egypt possessed the first knowledge of algebra, but the fact means nothing, for that knowledge was never put to any practical use and soon lapsed into the limbo of forgotten things. Later, it had to be reinvented and applied. On the other hand, Egypt's invention and perfection of a system of writing is a fact of basal importance in human progress.

Historical knowledge of Darwin and all of his works, however commonly they may be accepted by scientists, has but little value to contemporary and future living, for no obvious disasters would follow their rejection. Louis Pasteur and his discoveries are, however, of the utmost significance.

The state that ignored his great truths would quickly double its death rate, should it attempt to carry disbelief into practice. Thus it will be seen that not all historical knowledge is of equal value in solving the vital problems of contemporary life.

Today, more than ever before, human living has new and strange problems to solve. From 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600, there was but little improvement in the quality of living. The most significant fact regarding that long era is the spread of culture from the Near Orient to Europe and then to the entire world. A few inventions, such as coinage, the use of iron, paved roads, voting, and the idea of tolerance made some change but it was so slow, so gradual, as to be scarcely perceptible. Such scientific progress as there was, was equally slow. Galileo died in 1642, but one hundred and sixty-one years more elapsed before Symington's steam tug could draw a cargo up the Forth and Clyde canal. The microscope was invented in 1660 but not until two centuries later did Pasteur use it to discover the cause of infectious diseases.

It is only now, after 6000 years of existence, that changes in civilization are so rapid as to be reckoned as instantaneous when compared with the slow growth of the past. The conditions of 1931 show a greater difference from 1831 than do those of 1831 with the Pyramid Age of Egypt. Of still greater significance is the world-wide *feeling* that these changes have only just begun.

Science in application has entered the realm of human activity. Already industry and medicine have been revolutionized, creating new and different political problems. Factories have made cities with new social and economic perplexities. Mass production has introduced a scale of financial operations for which history can offer no precedent or even apt comparison. Medicine has extended life almost a quarter century. The control of infectious disease enables men to work long and accumulate fortunes when the conservatism of old age has dampened the enthusiasms of enterprise. Thus, the old order changeth. Production and the distribution of wealth are being assailed from every quarter. Perhaps the civilization that has grown for six thousand years is about to be replaced with something which will differ from it as much as it differed from the culture of primitive man.

Conventional history, it is often argued, revives past life; reveals characters and situations which may be recognizable in modern life. That, however, is not enough to warrant its emphasis in the Junior High School curriculum at the expense of a subject or course of subjects that will better prepare the youth about to assume the responsibilities of living. A thorough understanding of seventeenth century life will not make living easier, for we are no longer confronted by seventeenth century conditions. History must be applied. Knowledge of the fact is insufficient.

In recognition of the many changes of living, formal education is taking stock and the social subjects have come in for their share of criticism. Whether the revision will be a progressive or retrograde movement cannot be foretold and may never be conclusively proven, since educational experiment is seldom scientific. Too many factors beyond the control of those who would guide the experiment make the results quite inconclusive. So it is and will be with the new venture in social science. The unit plan is being injected into the Junior High School side by side with the social subjects or is given to small groups of children whose condition and background are not the same as those taking the social subjects.

Briefly, the unit plan in social science is a course of study systematically planned to cover the three years of Junior High School. The long term program gives the new course many advantages not found in the old method of social subjects.

The first of these is that the subject matter can be so arranged as to cover the entire field of social science. Thus, the pupil leaving school at the end of the ninth year or at any time before graduation from the Senior High School, is given a course which places the essential facts of the old social subjects in their proper perspective with relation to one another and actual living conditions. The social subjects: history, geography, civics, economics and sociology can't all be presented as separate subjects in the seventh, eighth, and ninth years. Even if they could, it is doubtful if the pupil would be adequately prepared to apply what he has learned, for he has viewed each subject in an artificial segregation not easily discernible in the every day world. History without geography is bereft of half its meaning; civics without history challenges even mature understanding. Hence, one big aim of the social science unit is to present the cardinal facts of the old social subjects in their proper perspective, just as they are seen in actual living.

Another advantage worthy of special comment lies in the fact that since the unit is designed to cover three years, there is a chance for both de-

signed and spaced repetition. The repetition thus made can be presented in such a way that it is, by no means formal drill or even recognized by the student as repetition.

From an administrative point of view, the unit plan has its attractions also. The average small school curriculum cannot include nearly all of the courses in the social subjects because time, space, and teaching staff will not permit it. With the social science course, however, the fundamental features of each subject can be included and taught at some one or several times during the three-year period.

The strongest criticism of the social science scheme comes from the history teacher. One of the first questions asked is, "What is to be omitted from history?" As a matter of fact, that shows the entirely wrong point of view. It must be recognized that the Junior High School graduates many pupils who go no further in our school system. To that group, the Junior High must offer as nearly complete preparation for social responsibilities as possible. Therefore, the reply to the question is, "Select only the historical facts and points of view which explain contemporary problems." History reconstructs the past; the social science unit seeks only to explain the present and prepare the Junior High School boy or girl to meet the problems of the future. Just what portion of history must be included cannot be taken up in this short paper. Suffice it to say, however, that historians have never contended that all historical facts are of equal importance. Social science states that proposition conversely by recommending the employment of only such information as will explain contemporary living. Of course, social science cannot be called history. It is a subject designed to prepare for community citizenship and no one has ever proved that history teaches good citizenship any better than any one or combination of other social subjects. On the contrary, one great contemporary nation used history to teach a poor quality of citizenship, much to the sorrow of the entire world.

As with history, so with sociology and economics. Much of both is incorporated in the new experiment but not with the conscious idea of teaching sociology or economics merely for their own sakes. Rather it is to show that when the principles and laws of economics are not obeyed, society experiences suffering and discomfort not unlike that of today.

Teachers of geography are generally favorable to the new plan. They hail it as the embodiment of their philosophy of the past quarter century. They maintain that it has never been contended that the geography taught was to do more than serve as a searchlight to illuminate man's activity, both



present and future. With the advent of the 6-3-3 division of elementary and secondary education, they deplored the curtailment of geography study. Now, with the prospect of its return in close combination with the other social subjects, they see the study of geography in the Junior High School revitalized and its value to the pupil immensely increased.

Perhaps the greatest handicap under which the new course labors is poor teaching, due to inadequate, as well as improper, training in the teachers colleges. It is absolutely necessary that the prospective teacher be given careful and extensive instruction in all of the social subjects but throughout such preparation, the teacher should be assisted to an entirely different philosophy with regard to them. It must be understood that the long study of the individual social subjects is engaged in the better to prepare that teacher to evaluate and relate that subject to better living.

So far, most social science teachers are taken from the ranks of history teachers, with the result that the new course is measured and taught in terms of history. When some portion of the work is reached which does not lend itself easily to the technique of the history teacher, then a lesson in geography is taught. That sort of teaching destroys the intent of the course by breaking it up again into the artificial arrangement of the social subjects. Each and every lesson must be so taught that it cannot be called a lesson in any particular one of the social subjects but a lesson in actual, and therefore practical, living.

Perhaps the desired end can be reached by offering the teacher in training, a course which builds up the philosophy of social science with suggestions as to technique. Such a program remains to be worked out. It has been the practice in American teacher training institutions to prepare teachers that are in demand, therefore, social science must be poorly taught long enough to compel administrators to demand specially trained teachers. If the subject lives through that trying time, its chances of development will be much improved.

In some quarters, a fear has been expressed that the result of social science teaching will be a submerging and undervaluation of the separate social subjects, both by teachers and pupils of the Junior High School who continue their formal education. Such a result would, indeed, be deplorable. It is, however, a groundless fear. Advocates of the social subjects, so quick to affirm their individual values, will now be furnished pupils who have been given a three years' training in the science of living. They should be better able to understand the abstractions of sociology and economics; to see geography and geology as far more than a detached

study of the earth. By having an understanding of their own day, they should see in history infinitely greater values. And the prospective teacher, if the social subjects are to be properly handled in a combined course, must know each one in detail. It is, therefore, difficult to see how the unit plan could dispense with the later study of the social subjects.

The factor upon which ultimate, intelligent action depends with reference to social science is the quality of open-mindedness. The mere fact that the educational system has long employed the formal social subjects in the seventh, eighth, and ninth years is by no means proof that they are the means of preparing for modern living. On the other hand, innovations are almost a besetting sin of education. Every new idea has its converts, who, with fanatical zeal, blunder onward in the dark, fighting windmills of fancy. Merely because the scheme is new to the present day vouchsafes nothing as to its value. Here, again, teachers are challenged by a new experiment that is assuming gigantic proportions. Every minute detail merits the closest observation. Each member of the profession should maintain the quality of mind that evaluates carefully before it accepts or rejects. Each new step should be firm, each rejection, positive. Only then can progress be made in educational reform.

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The late Harry Nelson Gay of Rome contributed the leading article to the October number of the *American Historical Review*, "Garibaldi's American Contacts." Mr. Gay points out that "the three master minds which made modern Italy were, in the formation of their oft conflicting political designs, profoundly influenced by foreign thought and environment," Cavour by his early travels in France, Switzerland and England; Mazzini by his years of exile in England and France; and Garibaldi by his short residence in America and by the contacts which he created as a result of that stay. While the sojourn itself was most disappointing due largely to his lack of familiarity with the language and his unwillingness to accept charity from strangers, yet after his return he relied on the interests of America to such an extent that at one time he claimed the rights of American citizenship.

The summary of the economic collapse of the Roman Empire by Louis C. West in the November number of the *Classical Journal* is full of interest to those endeavoring to understand the problems of present day America. Augustus had created a world market not unlike our own; the gradual civilization of the provinces tended to make them increasingly independent of Rome and after the third century the provincial factories took charge of local needs. The army and the poor ate up the capital of the thrifty and so half of Europe sank into the dark ages from which it did not emerge until the thrifty and energetic could again safely use their abilities in wealth-producing activities.

# Do American History Students Change Their Attitudes after One Term's Work?

By JAY GOLUB AND ALFRED D. SWAHN  
New Utrecht High School, Brooklyn, New York

The infantile paralysis epidemic of 1931 made this experiment possible. New York City students returned to school September 21 instead of September 14. The teachers spent their extended leisure by attending a number of conferences. One afternoon, we, the history teachers, were treated to some stimulating talks by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes and Dr. Tildsley. Both agreed, as do all educators today, that the acquisition of desired attitudes by the students is of more concern to the teachers than the accumulation of particularized facts. Dr. Tildsley believed we should make a conscious effort to inculcate an attitude of scientific skepticism in the minds and hearts of our boys and girls. Dr. Barnes thought that an impartial presentation of the facts, as far as possible, will bring about similar results. Neither of them doubted the possibility of achieving the desired end. Stated differently, education changes attitudes. That's almost a dogma. But does it? We discussed it among ourselves. Some of us believed that a term's work changes the students' notion considerably; others that the changes are almost imperceptible. Who is right? How many students in our classroom will change their opinions between September, 1931, and January, 1932?

Two teachers of New Utrecht High School decided to experiment with the students in the second term of American history; a good number were candidates for graduation; the others were seventh termers. We drew up a list of twenty debatable questions that are discussed in the course of the term's work and are also, to a large extent, of popular interest. This is a copy of the questions:

1. Do you favor changes in the Prohibition Amendment?
2. Should the United States join the World Court?
3. Should the laws against trusts and monopolies be repealed?
4. Should negro laborers be permitted to become members of trade unions?
5. Shall American marines be kept in Nicaragua or China to protect American life and property?
6. Shall the United States government own and run railroads?
7. Do you favor a strong third party in this country?
8. Do the people rule in the United States?
9. Should the U. S. government help farmers raise the price of wheat?
10. Should the navy of the United States be the largest in the world?

11. Should the United States enter the League of Nations?
12. Do you favor a high tariff?
13. Was the United States justified in entering the Spanish-American war?
14. Do you favor Socialism?
15. Was the United States justified in entering the World War?
16. The number of immigrants who may enter the United States is limited to 150,000 each year. Do you favor this policy?
17. Child labor at the present time is regulated by the states. Should this problem be placed under the control of the national government?
18. Has women suffrage been a success?
19. Do you consider the United States an imperialistic nation?
20. Should the Philippine Islands receive their independence now?

Some of the questions were worded unfortunately. It is difficult to answer question seven intelligently, for example, without knowing the platform of the party. The same holds true of a few of the other questions. On the whole, they enabled us to answer our problems. We tried to determine what were our students' opinions, or prejudices, *at the very beginning of the term*, about prohibition, League of Nations, tariff, and the like. What were their opinions about the same problems at the end of the term, after studying the historic antecedents and after discussing these problems in the classroom? To what extent did the individual student's opinions change? To what extent did the group opinions change?

We mimeographed the twenty questions; distributed them to the students the opening week of the term; explained frankly what we were trying to do. We made it clear that their answers to the questions would not affect their mark at any time. To prove it, we told them to omit their names; instead to note their date of birth. That would enable us to compare the opinions of the individual students as expressed at the beginning of the term with his opinion at the end of the term; and at the same time gain all the advantages of anonymity. They were to be honest with themselves; to answer yes or no; or leave it blank if they had no opinion. It seemed to us that the 206 boys and girls cooperated wholeheartedly.

The sheets were collected. The term's work was conducted in normal fashion. The textbook used

	YES First Test I	NO First Test I	BLANK First Test I	YES Second Test II	NO Second Test II	BLANK Second Test II
1. Change Prohibition	91%	5%	4%	89%	9%	2%
2. U. S. join W. Ct.	38%	41%	21%	63%	31%	6%
3. Repeal Trust Laws	13%	47%	40%	24%	76%	0%
4. Negro labor in white unions	84%	8%	8%	81%	16%	3%
5. Marines in Nicaragua	75%	21%	4%	62%	38%	0%
6. Gov't own railroads	54%	38%	8%	39%	58%	3%
7. Favor 3rd Party	36%	35%	29%	34%	59%	7%
8. People rule in U. S.	29%	55%	16%	22%	74%	4%
9. U. S. help farmers	52%	22%	26%	88%	9%	3%
10. U. S. Navy largest	38%	45%	17%	48%	47%	5%
11. U. S. enter League	33%	52%	15%	46%	50%	4%
12. Favor high tariff	36%	49%	15%	26%	69%	5%
13. U. S. justified in Sp.-Am. War	31%	29%	40%	52%	36%	12%
14. Favor Socialism	25%	48%	27%	22%	72%	6%
15. U. S. justified in entering World War	69%	23%	8%	67%	29%	4%
16. Favor present immigration law	61%	36%	3%	85%	14%	1%
17. U. S. regulate child labor	30%	65%	5%	51%	48%	1%
18. Is woman suffrage a success	59%	22%	19%	69%	23%	8%
19. Is U. S. imperialistic	24%	48%	28%	50%	48%	2%
20. Should Phil. be indep. now	32%	50%	18%	25%	73%	2%

has a conservative bias. We supplemented it with current periodicals and outside references; then debated, argued and discussed any points of dispute. As a general rule, we, the teachers, did not formally express our opinions about prohibition or any of the other problems. We merely guided the discussion; tested their notions with rules of logic, standards of ethics, and experiences of the past. They were to formulate their own attitudes. At the end of the term, the same twenty questions were answered for the second time.

What were the results? How did the answers in January, 1932, compare with the answers in September, 1931? How did the 206 students, as a group behave? What were the reactions of the individual students? What generalisations can we draw?

Let us look first at the behavior of the group. In the table above are their responses, in percentage form, to the questions in the first test as compared with their answers to the second test.

The figures are interesting. Notice the opinions with which our students, as a group, came to us

at the beginning of the term. More than half of our students thought:

That the prohibition amendment should be changed.

That the negro laborers should be permitted to become members of trade unions open at present only to whites.

That the American Marines should be kept in Nicaragua.

That the government should own and operate the railroads.

That the people of the United States do not rule.

That the U. S. Government should help the farmer raise the price of wheat.

That the U.S. should not enter the League of Nations.

That the U.S. was justified in entering the World War.

That the present immigration policy should be continued.

That the U. S. Government should not regulate child labor.



	Opinions Constant Yes to Yes No to No	Opinions Changed Yes to No No to Yes	Acquired Opinions Blank to Yes or No	Unanswered Yes or No to Blank
1. Change Prohibition	86.3%	11.3%	2%	0.4%
2. U. S. Join W. Ct.	54%	28%	15%	3%
3. Repeal Trust Laws	45%	18%	25%	12%
4. Negro labor in white unions	79%	12%	3.9%	5.1%
5. Marines in Nicaragua	75%	19%	3.9%	2.1%
6. Gov't own railroads	63%	27%	7%	3%
7. Favor 3rd Party	59%	15%	17%	9%
8. People rule in U. S.	65%	20%	9%	6%
9. U. S. help farmers	54%	20%	17%	9%
10. U. S. Navy largest	69%	18%	9%	4%
11. U. S. enter League	58%	21%	12%	9%
12. Favor high tariff	52%	31%	10%	7%
13. U. S. justified in Sp.-Am. War	54%	17%	26%	3%
14. Favor Socialism	62%	15%	15%	8%
15. U. S. justified in entering World War	77%	15%	5%	3%
16. Favor present immigration law	65%	29%	2%	4%
17. U. S. regulate child labor	67%	26%	4%	3%
18. Is woman suffrage a success	61%	16%	15%	8%
19. Is U. S. imperialistic	46%	30%	14%	10%
20. Should Phil. be indep. now	63%	22%	8%	7%
Average	62.6%	20.3%	10.9%	6.2%

That the Philippine Islands should not be given their independence now.

At the end of the term, more than half of our students expressed the same ideas. Only two changes have to be noted. The majority now opposed U. S. Government ownership and operation of the railroads; and the majority now favored U. S. Government regulation of child labor. All other opinions were corroborated by at least fifty-one per cent of the students. As a group, they started off with twelve decided opinions; two of them changed by the end of the term.

Note, too, that at the beginning of the term the group did not have any decided opinions about eight of the problems. By January, a majority had acquired enough facts to be in a position to argue:

That the U.S. should join the World Court.  
That the trust laws should not be repealed.  
That a third party should not be organized.  
That high tariffs are unfortunate.

That the U.S. was justified in entering the Spanish-American War.

That socialism is unjustifiable.

That the United States is imperialistic.

A term's work did not enable the students to cast a decided vote either way about question ten: Should the navy of the United States be the largest in the world? But we think it is perfectly clear that a term's work has given these boys and girls attitudes and opinions where they didn't have any opinions at the beginning of the term. In September two questions were left blank by as many as 40 per cent of the students; others by 30 per cent or 25 per cent of the students. In January, the highest percentage of students to leave any one question blank was 12 per cent.

Studies of individual reactions should be more illuminating. What did John Smith believe in at the beginning of the term? How many of his pet notions did he drop by the wayside? How many new notions did he pick up? How many did he

change? This tabulation is our answer. It indicates, in percentage form, the number of individual students who held fast to their original opinions (yes in September and yes in January; or no in September and no in January); the number who changed their opinions (yes in September and no in January; or vice versa); and the number who acquired opinions (blank to yes or no); and the number who expressed opinions in September but expressed none in January.

Let us reread the averages: 62 per cent of our students held on to their opinions; 20 per cent changed them; 11 per cent acquired them for the first time; and the rest—about 7 per cent—didn't express any opinions by the end of the term. Stated differently, for any given problem, about one of every five students have opinions at the beginning of the term which they will change by the end of the term; about three of every five have opinions and hold on to them; and the rest—one of every five—either didn't have any attitudes at the beginning or at the end. Opinions do change, but the change is slight for any given problem in any term.

In specific instances, the numbers will vary. There is the greatest constancy and the least change in the answers to the questions on prohibition; negro laborers; and the United States navy. There is the least constancy and the greatest change in the answers to the questions on U.S. imperialism; tariff; immigration; World Court; government ownership and operation of railroads; and child labor. No definite direction can be seen in cases where opinions do change by the end of the term. They do not veer decidedly to the "Yes" or to the "No" of any question. Eighteen per cent of

the students changed their points of view in regard to question three. But 9 per cent answered "Yes" and 9 per cent answered "No." The same is approximately true of many other questions. These are exceptions, but they are few in number.

It is not safe to generalize after studying 206 cases. But it is safe to say:

1. That these boys and girls were opinionated about most of the problems we considered in our classrooms.

2. That more than 60 per cent of the students hold on to their opinions from the beginning of the term to the end of the term.

3. That for any given question 20 per cent of the students who have an opinion to start with, will change it by the end of the term.

4. That such changes do not show any definite influence of teaching but are divided between the affirmative and negative.

5. That students form opinions by the end of the term where they didn't have any at the beginning.

6. That there is the greatest consistency of opinion where apparently the emotional bias and current interest are greatest (prohibition; negroes; large navy; League of Nations); the least consistency in questions that lack a large amount of popular interest.

The study raises some vital questions. What are we to do with the students who express the "proper" attitudes at the very beginning of the term? Is our teaching effective when only 1 out of 5 change their ideas? Should we, the teachers, try to inculcate certain definite notions? Or should we continue our old habits and practices?

## Facts or Ideas in the Social Studies?

By EDGAR B. WESLEY

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Formal discipline is supposed to rest quietly in the educational graveyard. Many of us attended the rites performed by loving friends when he was gathered to his fathers. In spite of these facts his spirit seems to walk, not only at midnight, but in broad daylight through college halls. What else does this great emphasis upon facts mean?

The professor of history, science, or English steals a sly glance at the professor of education and remarks that one needs to know a subject in order to teach it. By that observation he accuses the professor of education, at least by innuendo, of sending out teachers who know few facts. Our concern here is not with the defense of the bantered professor but

with the implication of the observation. What does it mean? Apparently the professor of history, to single out one of the attacking corps, visualizes the competent teacher of history as one who has a granary-like mind filled with the facts of history. Confronted by a question, the resourceful teacher, whose mind is in order, reaches into the proper filing cabinet and produces the answer. He knows history. He has a good memory. He is a good teacher *because* he knows history.

The professor of history would doubtless insist that the teacher knows more than mere facts, that he understands all the interrelations and connecting threads of each fact, but his principal equipment

must be a store of facts, many of which he may or may not use. Then the chief task of a professor engaged in preparing teachers is to cram their brains and to help them introduce systematic filing devices in order to increase their brain capacities.

It is possible that those who are so insistent upon the acquisition of facts are keenly aware of the futility of facts in themselves, but their attitude indicates no such realization. Certain it is that they feel that the acquisition of facts will inevitably be followed by the necessary associations, connections, and interrelations. This gratuitous assumption has little support, and there are strong indications to the contrary. Students can and do learn many facts which enable them to pass examinations and humor their teachers but which quickly disappear because they remained facts and failed to develop into ideas.

Facts are easily acquired. The capable student learns, sometimes in one evening, enough to enable him to pass the semester course. It is more than probable that most of the information acquired in this manner disappears rapidly, but the student will probably retain isolated items of information for some time. His brief study allowed little time for the setting up of associations and connections. Facts can be gotten almost without effort. They float in through the eyes and ears. Whether the brain will rework the facts and make them into ideas depends upon a number of factors, but the point here is to emphasize the difference between facts and ideas.

Ideas are developed less rapidly. Facts, such as names, places, definitions, and statements, are received and placed in their proper relationships. They are not simply filed but they are entertained, questioned, and tried out. An idea consists of fact tied to fact with the synoptic bonds of association. Fact must tie up with fact in a serviceable way or it slips quietly away.

These points can be clarified and emphasized by reference to two experimental examinations which were given at the University of Minnesota in 1928 and 1931, under the direction of Professor A. C. Krey.<sup>1</sup> The field of modern history was chosen because it is rich in factual material and perhaps not so rich in its contributions to ideas.

The first examination consisted of 174 items of a factual nature, all of which were cast into objective forms. It was given to a college class in modern history, to two high school classes just finishing the subject, and to an experimental group of seven high school seniors who had not taken modern history. The experimental group was excused from all other school duties and spent one week in reading and studying modern history. They were motivated by the promise of credit and worked with considerable energy. The results were interesting, for the median

of the experimental group was well above those of the two high school classes and just below that of the college class.

The examination was long and somewhat detailed. It was not mechanically perfect, and some arbitrary rulings had to be made in scoring it, but they were applied uniformly and the imperfections in no wise determined the results. The experimental group consisted of students somewhat above the average in intelligence but only one would be classed as belonging to the gifted group.

The second examination consisted of one hundred ideas in the field of modern history and was cast into the five multiple-choice form. An effort was made to eliminate items whose answer involved the recall of factual material. The form itself made this possible, for every student knew that he had the answer before his eyes. Every item required discrimination on the part of the student. Naturally the student who remembered a particular item could answer with double assurance, but little memory work was necessary. The test was further refined by asking the student to mark not the *correct* answer, for two or three might be correct under some circumstances, but to mark the *best* answer. For the purpose of illustration let us consider item No. 82.

The whole series of developments connected with the change from hand labor to machine production is known as

1. mass production
2. large scale wage system
3. the industrial revolution
4. trade unionism
5. mechanical evolution.

The idea of the industrial revolution may or may not be adequate, but the fact is that this question did identify those who had gone up the scale of the classes.

The second examination was given to a college class in economic history, several of whom had previously taken modern history, to two high school classes, and to another experimental group which prepared itself in the same manner. The experimental group consisted of six senior students whose intelligence ratings were somewhat higher than those of the previous experimental group. The results of the test were somewhat surprising.

The college group, although not engaged in studying modern history and decidedly inferior to the previous college class, ranked highest. One of the high school classes, consisting of tenth grade pupils, ranked second. The experimental group ranked third, and was surpassed by a number of individual pupils in the second high school class.

A further check was made by having the experimental group take the information test used in



1928. The median score was slightly higher than that of the original group. This check serves to show conclusively that the experimental group, although of superior ability, could not do so well on a test of ideas as they could on an information test.<sup>2</sup>

The acquisition of facts is an easy matter. The translation of facts into ideas seems to require explanation, time, effort, repetition, and a period for maturing. The professor of history surely does not mean what he says about the importance of facts. He is talking about the more advanced stages in which facts have served their purpose as raw material and have been reworked into ideas with all their interrelations, but the careless advocacy of the importance of facts and the unwarranted assumption that a great collection of facts equals competency and efficiency cause the miser-like fact-hunter to feel a degree of satisfaction to which he is not entitled. On the other hand, the professor of education has no intention of casting the contume-

lious stone of disrespect. He does not scorn facts, but he does recognize that they must be reworked, that as facts they are nearly valueless. Only when they have been woven into the perfected pattern do they really function.

An isolated fact in history may be retained long enough for it to find a focal point or it may disappear, forlorn and unbefriended. Facts are superficial, wandering, unattached. Society is more than the sum total of individuals, and ideas are more than the sum total of facts. Ideas are complex and intricate. The teacher of the social studies is not trying to teach facts for the sake of facts but facts for the sake of complete ideas.

<sup>1</sup> See THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, XXIII, pp. 7-21 (January, 1932), for fuller details.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Charles W. Boardman, at that time principal of University High School, managed the experimental group. Miss Dorothy Bovee prepared the first test, and she, Miss Mary Gold, and the author of this article prepared the second test.

# Suggestion for a New Synthesis on the Causes of the American Revolution

With Special Reference to Land Speculation in the Ohio Valley

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## FOREWORD

The brief attempt here made in the following article on the Revolution to suggest more effective utilization of knowledge discovered by such scholars as Alvord, Schlesinger and others may suffer from the inadequacy of time, space and further study. The author begs the indulgence of his readers.

The references to Alvord and others show that Washington and others were capitalists and land speculators. The explanation of their motives in doing what they did can probably be made only after many scholars have begun or completed their studies. The author does not intend to malign the motives of any one for what scholars have shown them to have done. The author is no adherent of a narrow economic interpretation of history, subscribing instead to a collective psychological interpretation.

Any number of outstanding scholars, such as Carman of Columbia, have continually emphasized the necessity of knowing the motives for an act. Without that they say we do not know the whole truth. Dewey and others have pointed out that truth sometimes is indeterminable. Thus it may be truer to say of Washington, or some other leader, that his motive was any one, or a combination of any number, of well known psychological explanations for something they did. Washington's land-speculation, for example, may have been due

to a fear of insecurity to his self, to his power, to his desires, to his investment; or due to a desire merely for self-expression, achievement, or to a need for compensation. The author's references to Washington are based solely on the scholars whose works are quoted in the following article. He has studiously avoided reading any of the "debunking" books or "praiseworthy" books on Washington so admirably and tersely summarized in a recent article (February, 1932) in THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK. The author only wishes to call attention to unworked possibilities in fields of history, especially that of the Revolution, while avoiding the oversimplification of history in terms of a conflict between good and evil.

Alvord, Schlesinger, Beard and others will not be fully and properly utilized perhaps, until someone with time to interpret them adequately in terms of modern psychology sets himself to the task. It undoubtedly will involve much study and effort which the author for the present is in no position to give. It is hoped that his suggestions will receive thoughtful consideration.

## I

This article is written to call attention to the need for a new synthesis on the causes of the American Revolution. The works of Beer and others, bearing on new viewpoints of the commercial restrictions, are

well known and have modified the orthodox opinion as to the causes of the Revolution. However, as far as is known, no similar attempt has been made to coördinate the researches of Alvord on Land Speculation, of Schlesinger on the Merchant Class,<sup>1</sup> and of a number of writers on the struggle of the frontiersmen against capital on the seacoast. A brief account of the exploitation of the former by the latter is given by Faulkner in *American Economic History*, pages 131-134. There is a brief bibliography on this topic in Turner and Merk, *List of References on the History of the West*, Harvard University Press, 1922.

Alvord gives one the impression that Virginian patriotic leaders assumed the national leadership of the Revolution as a means of substituting Virginian political control over Ohio lands in place of British control. Only a few of the merchant class, according to Schlesinger, supported the Revolution. In its local, or state, aspect the Revolution seems to have been more of a revolt by the poorer classes against both the economic and political control of the colonies by the richer seacoast classes and the British government. Any new synthesis should take account of the facts mentioned briefly above. However, herein we deal chiefly with a brief summary of the part played by land speculators as shown by the various writers referred to at the close. The conflict between the poor and the rich continued during and after the Revolution.

The tie-up between the class struggle (or rather the interclass struggle of the small farming classes of the frontier against the larger mercantile, or personality, classes), the Revolution and the formation of the Constitution is revealed by the work of O. G. Libby, *Geographical Distribution of the Votes on the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States, 1787-1790*, and the work of C. A. Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*.

These last two writers show that the poorer, farmer-mechanic classes of the interior of the states opposed the Constitution, which was made by, and supported by, the planting and mercantile (personality) classes of the seacoast.

Alvord and Harrell imply that the Virginian interest in the Revolution grew out of the desire for political control over, and disposition of, land in the Ohio Valley. Alvord's book, joined with that of Schlesinger's, modifies greatly the orthodox story that the Revolution was due to unfair British rule, or unfair taxation.

Schlesinger shows that the merchant classes in the thirteen colonies, and the planting classes in Virginia particularly, objected to the new imperial legislation after 1765 because of an actual, or anticipated, danger to their own personal economic interests. The merchants opposed the Tea Act of 1773 as a monopoly dangerous to their profits and trade.

They condemned the Boston Tea Party, which was the work of the radicals and mechanic classes. Many merchants on account of it dropped out of the agitation against Britain. Others for many reasons supported the renewed protest in the Continental Con-

gress and in the Revolution which followed. Schlesinger refutes the idea that taxation without representation caused the Revolution.<sup>2</sup> He shows that the tea taxes had been paid, while taxes had been paid on other commodities in increasing amounts after 1767. If political objections were paramount the colonies would have consistently refused to import these goods (tobacco, wine, molasses) and to pay taxes on them. He cites the minutes of the Boston Committee of Correspondence to the effect that in March, 1774, the second tea party occurred because of "the duty being as disagreeable as the intended monopoly of the East India Company."<sup>3</sup>

Alvord shows that the struggle, especially between Virginians and Pennsylvanians, for control of the Ohio lands underlay the causes of the Revolution. To link up what has been said with land speculation, it will be necessary to review briefly the British-French struggle for the control of North America.

Each had contended for political, economic, and military control. The one was essential to the other, and implied opportunities for the other kind of power; which was the predominant cause of their struggles it is difficult to say. Perhaps the economic was more preponderant, if not exclusive, as Brailsford says of the causes of wars. Fisheries off Newfoundland, with the corollary of a fleet, sugar in the West Indies, furs in Canada, and land on the Ohio seem to have been the chief economic stakes.

The defeat of the French in 1763 gave Britain new problems in administration of Empire. Money to defend it and run it was an important one. The transfer of the land to private ownership was another. The political opportunities and dangers of new colonies on the Ohio were other problems. These were early presaged by Pontiac's rising against the British, the fur traders, and the squatters. It lasted from May 7, 1763, to October 12, 1765.

## II

As a means of unifying the Empire and solving the problems of administration, including treatment of the Indians, the Crown revived the enforcement of old laws and passed new ones. The Navigation Acts were enforced, the Sugar Act of 1733 was modified, and a Stamp Act was passed. It was proposed through the latter to raise new revenue in the colonies, the proceeds of which were to be spent there for the military defense of the new western empire. It hardly need be argued that British laws were designed for the benefit of the home government and home economic classes. However, as the story of the struggle of the interior versus the seacoast shows, the local colonial governments and economic classes exploited the colonists in general.

On October 7, 1763, the King issued the Proclamation of 1763, which temporarily closed the trans-Appalachian territory to colonial penetration and settlement. Fur trading would be allowed only under a license from the King's agent.

The Proclamation was issued not only because of

Indian, and money, problems, but because of the following facts:

a. Virginian and Pennsylvanian land speculators (through their colonial government) disputed the jurisdiction of the other over the Ohio Valley. Virginia claimed it under her sea-to-sea charter and Pennsylvania claimed it on account of contiguity and of an Indian treaty.

b. Various proposals were made in England and in America as to settlements. If made, whose should they be: crown colonies, private corporations, as those at Jamestown and Plymouth originally, and if so whose, Americans, or Britishers in England?

c. If individuals moved westward in an unorganized, undirected movement, as they did, how was government to be created and administered? Who more properly than the British crown should do it?

d. Discord among the different Whig factions in the British cabinet, probably representing honest difference of opinion, as well as special economic interests, further complicated the matter. A pause in the shape of a temporary prohibitory proclamation was necessary.

The chief provisions of the Proclamation of 1763 are as follows:

Until the king's further pleasure should be made known there was to be:

a. No further settlements west of a line corresponding to the crest of the Appalachian Mountain Range, running from Canada to the Gulf. However, settlements might be made by, or lands granted to, soldiers who had served in the late war, 1754-1763.

b. No more land grants to be made by colonial governors in this new territory.

c. No fur trading west of the line unless by license from the King.

This trade involved personal white contact with the Indians, letting all kinds of trouble develop. Some traders cheated the Indians. Others gave them whisky in trade. The Indians while drunk made trouble. Others sold to the Indians more blankets, axes, etc., than they could pay for in furs. The traders would then force the chiefs to cede land in payment without the permission of the King's Indian Superintendent. It was often too late for him to take action. Further, he had no force with which to deprive the trader, or a settler, of his land. Since he could not put an end to this practice he was obliged to approve of the land cession despite protests of other Indians of the tribe.

After the issuance of the Proclamation, which was but temporary, debate still continued in the British Cabinet as to the proper policy. The discussion hinged upon the question as to whom the land should be granted for development, and exploitation for settlement, and upon the nature of imperial control. Lord Shelburne, Colonial Secretary, advocated land grants and colonies west of the mountains under imperial control, to be protected by soldiery in various forts. These would serve as a police force also to supervise fur traders, whose competition for the fur trade sometimes led to pitched battles among themselves. Some cabinet ministers opposed his policies on account

of a fear that new settlements, cut off from the seacoast by a lack of roads, would become independent and thus set an example to the other English colonies.

Discord was increased in the Cabinet by the presentation of demands of other groups, whom Alvord leads us to suppose were championed by Cabinet Members. British manufacturers opposed trans-mountain colonization in order to keep the population on the seacoast. Their farms and towns could be easily reached by ocean-going vessels or river craft. Some merchants seem to have been indifferent to a possible movement of population into the interior. Probably they were ignorant of the problem of transportation to the West. This was later in the nineteenth century to be the subject of the American Policy of Henry Clay. It was the railroad and the river steamboat and the canal, plus good roads, that opened the way for the transport of western products to coastal markets and vice versa.

A group of English Lords had been granted lands in the Floridas after 1763. They opposed western migration from a fear that their lands would not be in demand. Another group of British landlords opposed western colonization for fear that cheap lands would attract their farming tenants. They resented the fact that speculators, such as Washington, advertised the sale of Ohio lands in Irish papers.

### III

While this debate was going on for some years after 1763, there was a rivalry among Virginian and Pennsylvanian speculators for approval of their land claims.

The Virginians, of whom Washington was the largest speculator, had worked with the Virginian Governors, Dinwiddie and Dunmore, to obtain western lands. In 1754 Dinwiddie had been given permission by the Crown to grant 200,000 acres of land along the Ohio to any Virginians who would enlist in the French Wars. For a number of reasons many soldiers did not exercise their options. Others bought up some of these. George Washington, for example, in 1768 bought up 32,000 in unexercised land grants. William Crawford did likewise.

Washington and others received land grants from Governor Dunmore contrary to the instructions of the Crown. In 1773 Washington acquired 2,183 acres and John Connolly 2,000. Others to receive these illegal grants were Patrick Henry, Hugh Inness, Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Madison.

Dunmore in 1774 waged a war against the Shawnees along the Ohio and forced them to cede land along the Ohio. No writer seems to be certain as to the motives for this war. It may have been undertaken to forestall a grant to the Vandalia Company, composed of Pennsylvania speculators. Of these the Whartons were the leaders. Benjamin Franklin was also a small stockholder in their company.

George Rogers Clark served with Dunmore in this war. He had become interested in speculation through his connection with Hancock Lee, who had succeeded George Washington as the chief surveyor of the Ohio Company.



Washington had some dickerings with George Croghan in an effort to settle their conflicting land claims. Croghan, on paper, was a larger land speculator than Washington. Croghan was not as outright a supporter of the colonial cause during the Revolution as was Washington. He seems to have tried to secure a grant for the Pennsylvanians, making a trip to England for that purpose.

While the Virginians sought land through the good offices of their royal governors, the Pennsylvanians endeavored to have land granted by the King to their Vandalia Company. They claimed the same land as did the Virginians, declaring that the Iroquois had ceded it to them. Wharton spent some time in England endeavoring to get this grant. Several times only one, or two, more official steps had to be taken to make the grant operative, when someone in the Cabinet would balk and the fight would be waged all over again. In 1774 only one official still objected, but the outbreak of the Revolution killed the project. Alvord was unable to find a single explanation for all their frustrated hopes. In addition to the Whartons (chief stockholders), Benjamin Franklin, and George Croghan, there were several English lords in the Vandalia Company. Among them were: the Walpoles, Lord Camden, Earl of Herford and Grenville.

Just before the Revolution, in 1773, the Crown ordered the temporary discontinuance of land grants west of the Proclamation Line of 1763. In 1774 it laid down a new system of land grants. There was to be a high quit rent and a survey of lands before sale. The lack of the latter in the seaboard colonies had permitted much fraud. Thomas Jefferson objected to this assertion of royal control, declaring that the King had no right to grant lands of himself. Royal Governors, resenting interference with their racket, objected to the plan of survey before sale as impracticable.

It is interesting to note that the United States system, established chiefly through Jefferson in 1784 and 1787, provided for survey before sale in the Northwest Territory.

The researches of Alvord and Harrell throw interesting light on little known, or understood, passages in the Declaration of Independence. These new land laws of 1774 were thus objected to therein in this way: "The King had endeavored to prevent the population of these states and raising (by law) the conditions of new appropriations of lands." The Quebec Act of 1774 was also denounced in the Declaration: "He has combined with others for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

Victor Coffin in *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution* disposes of this latter contention. Its purpose was to promote administrative efficiency and to give the French in Canada a voice in their government through their own language, laws and religion. A provision of the Proclamation Line of 1763 had unintentionally abolished French laws and

the legal usage of the French language had restricted religious freedom. It may be contended that this was but a cloak to set up British control. However, the Declaration of Independence, in the passages cited, but cloaked the land speculation interests of some of the patriotic leaders.

#### IV

In conclusion we may say that there was competition and conflict of political and economic interests between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and of both with those of the Empire; the opposition to the assertion of royal control and systematization of administration in the Ohio was chiefly that of the Virginians. They wanted to make money selling lands to settlers. The competition of Pennsylvanians prevented. The British Government, through design, accident, and lack of scientific knowledge of the territory, also thwarted the economic interests of private Virginian and other citizens. Those in control of the colonial government, in collusion with the royal governors, and in control independently after 1776, spoke for themselves in the name of the whole people of Virginia.

This land conflict was not resolved during the Revolution. Both Virginia and Pennsylvania battled it out for supremacy in the Continental Congress and in the Congress of the Articles of Confederation. The constitution of the latter, in providing for the Congress to act as a court of arbitration between states, at Virginian insistence, exempted disputes over land from its jurisdiction.

The land question was practically settled, as far as the original designs of the speculators were concerned, by the land cessions of 1781 through 1800 and by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. However, the territory was not fully open to American control, to settlement, or speculative opportunities until the fur posts were ceded to us under the Jay Treaty and until Wayne secured a victory over the Indians at Fallen Timbers in 1798.

Alvord's researches conclude with the outbreak of the Revolution. Other writers are non-committal on the relation of speculative motives of various leaders before the Revolution to the new governments afterward formed. It is possible that other interests and opportunities changed their previous ones. Further research may be needed to reveal fully the purposes and interests after 1776 of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Henry, and others. What economic profit in western lands did the new government afford them? How would we link their motives in supporting the Revolution with those of the merchants who did, and with those of the frontiersmen who opposed the sea-coast projects?

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 vols.

Albert Volwiler, *Croghan and the Westward Movement*.  
Frederic Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*.

Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, vol. III.  
Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark*.

Isaac Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia*.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*.

<sup>3</sup> Schlesinger, p. 246.

# A Bit of Laboratory Work in Map Study for Prospective History Teachers

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For some occult reason map work is the very last thing which the student can be induced to take seriously. Of course, the college freshman disdains the use of an atlas until by show of force of some sort he has finally become convinced that he cannot "get by" merely by waving his hand vaguely over an area which may be Poland or Czecho-Slovakia or even Hungary to locate the city of Prague. This utter indifference to geographical location melts merely into a perfunctory realization that the relationship of geography to history is a fact so recognized by historical scholars that the student in a Methods Course neglects it at his peril. But the leader of a Methods Course cannot rest content until he has awakened some response to the enthusiasm which he himself feels for the geographical background of the history of a given country, or until he sees the gleam of a genuine realization of what a vital part the mountains, the direction of the rivers, or the very atmosphere has played in determining the history and development of a people.

The writer wishes, first of all, to express her dissent from the general position taken by one of the most prominent men in the field of the teaching of history, when he rather scorns the locating of historical points on the map—the pointing exercise, as it is termed. The mere use of maps for purposes of locating places referred to in the text and classroom, if pressed to the point of perfect familiarity with the outline of a given country and sureness as to the exact location of a country, a province, a city, or a battle-field, is certainly far more valuable than vagueness as to its location on the globe. There is something positively painful about a college student not knowing just where Rhodes is or in what direction the Volga flows. Hence, pointing and pointing and pointing out places on the map in the secondary school classroom must go on until in some distant day perhaps it may no longer be necessary in the college classroom.

The writer, however, quite agrees with that same authority that if the history teacher permits her geography teaching to end with placing the pointer or finger upon a certain exact spot on the map, or with inculcating in the mind of the secondary school pupil that it is the ear-mark of slovenly scholarship to fail to locate on his atlas the key places of his history assignment, he has utterly failed to grasp the real significance of geographical importance.

Usually, a few striking illustrations of the way in which geographical conditions have affected the development of a people politically, historically, or artistically, suffice to challenge seriously the interest

of a college senior. Frequently, unless the students have been following courses in the History of Art, pointing out how the perfect clarity of the atmosphere in Greece necessitated the slight convexity of the vertical line of the columns of the Parthenon in order to avoid the appearance of a slightly concave line, the so-called entasis, grips them with the force of a novel and fascinating fact. It serves not only to point to the perfection of Greek art but forces them to see how the very atmospheric conditions bore a relation to the artistic development of the people which reached the highest point of artistic understanding yet attained by the human race. This fact leads on very naturally to a discussion of how the beauty and variety of the Greek peninsula may partially explain the artistic achievements of that people, but also to the comprehension of how the broken character of the country by virtue of its jagged coast-line and mountain ranges separating it into many isolated provinces rendered the ultimate decline of Greece inevitable because she could present no political unity against the closely compacted Roman state.

An illustration which achieves the same end of presenting a very humble fact in the guise of comparative importance is that of a geographical explanation for the locating of the great cotton industry in the north-western part of England, which has already been dismissed in their thought as perfectly natural since the great source of the raw material was America. It connotes a quite new idea, however, to learn that the great moisture in the atmosphere along the coast in that part of the British Isles makes possible the drawing out of the delicate cotton fibres to a degree of fineness utterly impossible in a drier climate.

Even in our own southland it gives a new meaning to the "inevitable conflict" to be made to realize that the planters, leaving the Atlantic seaboard of Virginia and the Carolinas for virgin soil (for their cotton or tobacco) were turned toward the southern west rather than the northern west by geographical factors. But it requires only a reflective study of the map to see that the valleys of the southern Alleghenies opened up toward the south-west as natural highways and that the gaps in those mountains were not well articulated so that as the pioneer settler entered one valley through a gap he naturally bent a little southward so as to reach the nearest gap across the next range of mountains. In time then the region south of Mason and Dixon's line and of the Ohio River became settled by a group of planters reflecting the same general views and hence with a certain political homogeneity, quite different from the views entertained by the people north of that line, who had spread

out into the western country quite as naturally on parallel lines from the old colonies of the northern Atlantic seaboard.

Frequently added vividness to the discussion may be gained by drawing an illustration from an event occurring at that very moment, in which the geographical element bears a close, causal relation to the occurrence. Such an illustration was conveniently available for last year's class in the series of events which seemed to threaten three republics instead of one in the Iberian peninsula. The history of the Basque provinces cries out at one the word "geography," for perched there athwart the western Pyrenees their marked separatist tendencies from both France and Spain are readily explicable, as is also their ability to preserve their natural characteristics between two such driving forces as those two countries represent. One scarcely feels surprise to learn that the group owing allegiance to the tricolor number only 300,000 despite the fact that these hardy mountaineers have tested the ingenuity of French statesmen at many periods of history. The leader of the class then straightway directs attention to the explanation of why, despite inordinate pride of race and remarkable independence, which would naturally lead to revolts, they still have not hitherto made serious attempts to break away and finds it in an economic fact: In their present enviable location the Basques can give Spain the French products which the Spaniards desire and give France the Spanish products which the people of that country want without bothering to give the revenue agent his share, while the popularity of the Basque resorts, such as Biarritz and Saint Jean de Luz, bring prosperity, good railroad connections, excellent roads, and the lure of future even brighter physical well-being. The ruling of hypothesis seems to be that they are survivals of the paleolithic inhabitants of the Pyrenees, an explanation which may be satisfactory to ethnologists, but geography offers a simpler answer to historians and, perhaps to laymen. At the other end of the Pyrenees is Catalonia with its 12,000 square miles of territory and its 2,500,000 population, which also proclaimed a separate republic in affiliation with Spain last April. Here mere location has been an important factor, for the region has been alternately under the rule of France and Spain having had more association with France than Spain and revealing in its language a closer affinity with Provençal than with Castilian Spanish, while the economic urge at the present moment would drive it toward independence.

The first step toward setting up helpful laboratory exercises for the student who is to teach history is the collection of materials. Nearly everything is grist for the mill. The point of departure is acceptance of the view which has already been voiced by others that we must substitute in the minds of students for the conventionalized abstractions which we call maps, mere splotches of color for countries, wavy lines for rivers, and tiny circles for cities, some mental imagery of the reality. Modern map-making is turning to the old type of map with tiny, pictorial representations

of the Arc de Triomphe, of the London Tower, of trees for Fontainebleau Forest, of pyramids for Egypt, and glaciers to denote the high Alps. Some of us remember the amused superiority with which we looked at these old maps in our childhood, half pitying the medieval mind which was incapable of handling abstractions like our modern maps, which we sophisticated moderns readily read. But now wisely we are returning to this very type of map so that in her classroom, the writer refers to them as "the new-old type of map." Where they are, as occasionally happens artistic in color and conception of detail, there is that much gain.

Hence, the writer culls her materials where she can. A classical map, showing Aeneas's journey which was put out by the Classical Association last year for the Virgilian celebration, was eagerly seized upon; a map advertising the charms of the Bermudas sent forth a request to the steamship company for a copy of the map and brought a generous response. Travel bureaus have proved an excellent source of supply. The writer recalled how some years ago in a western train approaching the entrance to the Yellowstone Park she was welcomed to breakfast by a charming pictorial representation of the circular tour of the park. "Old Faithful" was faithfully pictured in action; the Paint Pots were there; Old Faithful Inn with its picturesque logs and gables, and the Yellowstone Canyon with its vivid coloring were introduced. Diligent search in the Travel Bureaus finally located a copy, while the searcher came away armed with similar pictorial maps of the Niagara, reproducing this dramatic area all the way from the Falls past the Whirlpool Rapids and Brock's Monument to Lewiston; of San Francisco Harbor; of the Chesapeake Bay region, grandiloquently labeled, *The Birthplace of a Nation*; and with a map of *The Splendor in Ancient Spain*. The pilferer justified her academic use of material intended for commercial purposes by the pious reflection that some of her students would probably be sufficiently distracted from the purely academic use of the pictured glories to devote some portion of their first year's salary to seeing the reality, hence, bringing some return to the bureaus for the prostitution of their advertising literature to classroom use. A little reflection and delving in a dusty drawer brought forth a similar map of the Rhine country which the writer remembered acquiring for a mark or two as she boarded the steamer at Mainz. Another spur to her memory produced a fascinating map of London on which several pleasant hours had been spent locating nearly all the historical landmarks of that interesting city. Outline maps and colored maps of the conventional kind presented no problem; similarly large-scale maps of American cities, both of the conventionalized type and of the modern, bird's-eye view type, were not difficult to secure, thanks to the photogravure section of our Sunday papers.

The mechanics of how to make the materials usable by a class constituted the next problem. This was solved very simply by the use of folders, each duly labeled numerically. Into each folder went a number of maps of a given kind, each labeled in the margin



at the top to correspond with the number of the folder in which it belonged. About ten of each type of map was found adequate for a class of thirty, as with the number of hours available between classes, the proportion of one piece of material to three students has proved sufficient. In the case of the outline maps, it has proved more satisfactory to have them all the same; in the case of the pictorial maps all may be different, though selected, of course, with a view to the underlying principle to be illustrated and tested. Indeed, variety here was desirable as it added interest to the class discussion to have fresh details referred to and to have a wide range of history introduced along with the geographical data.

Despite the large number of individual pieces of material involved and handled by a large number of people, it is surprising how little confusion has occurred under this method of generous labeling. If, perchance, one map crept into the wrong folder, the next student soon detected it when there seemed no logic between the question and the data in her hand. Of course, her eye wandered to the top of the map, quickly comparing the number on the folder with the label on the map in her hand. The librarian cooperated by reserving for a few days one table in the Modern History Room for the use of the members of the methods course, upon which the material was duly spread out and arranged in order.

Finally, a carefully prepared set of directions and questions was posted on the bulletin board in this room. An improvement for next year naturally suggested itself from the experiment so that mimeographed sheets of the questions will be purchasable in the bookroom in order to save the time of copying on the part of the students and to relieve congestion about the bulletin board.

Obviously, this laboratory exercise is carried on in conjunction with discussion of the entire question of map study as presented in our two texts, Johnson, *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools*, and Tryon, *The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools*. After the views of these authorities are critically examined one day and Tryon's directions for map-making tested and criticized, a second class period is devoted to the so-called laboratory exercise devised by the instructor. Answers to the questions propounded must be brought to class in written form to insure a carefully thought out answer.

The list of questions follows to suggest the type of work done.

#### 1. Study of Map Projections.

(The folder contains maps illustrating Mercator's projection and several others with the curving latitudes and slanting meridians to suggest the curving surface of the earth. There is no thought of going into the question of map projections deeply and scientifically, with a study of orthographic, stereographic, globular, and conical projections, as the limited time of the course precludes it, and such study belongs rather, in the judgment of the writer, to cartography or to higher mathematics. The desire is to insure that the prospective teachers shall be at least clearly aware that there are several projections for maps and shall be able to distin-

guish the flat surface Mercator representation from the others.)

- Compare the different types of projections.
- What is the difference between the Mercator projection and the others?
- Do you have a preference between them for most of your map study? If so, why?
- What can be said in favor of the Mercator projection?
- What can be said for the other type of projection?
- Should the high school child have to understand the different kinds of projections? Give reasons for your answer.

The class usually sensibly agree that the most that should be attempted with a high-school class is to make them see the difference between the Mercator projection and all others.

#### 2. Outline Maps.

(The group of maps in Folder No. II comprises a set of McKinley outline maps of Europe designed for use in connection with a general course on Medieval and Modern History).

- Do you approve of the maps labeled Group II?
  - As to size?
  - As to projection?
  - Do you approve of the amount of detail: the rivers, mountains, etc.?
  - What would you require to be entered on this map?
- #### 3. Outline Maps for a particular Region.
- (Folder No. III contains maps of the British Isles alone).
- Criticize the maps in this folder in general.
  - In what field of history would these maps usually be used?
  - Do you approve of some maps of the British Isles distinct from the continent in a course on Medieval and Modern History? State the reasons for your answer.
  - Criticize these particular maps. The discussion usually brings out the objection that one of the maps is too filled with detail, mountain ranges, river, etc., even for a physical map.

Some detailed maps for the British Isles are thought desirable even in a general European course for those periods of English history which are rather fully handled in the course.

#### 4. The Use of Color in Maps.

(Samples of the Harding Series of maps, published by Denoyer-Geppert, a sample from Putnam's Historical Atlas with a small detailed map of Paris in the corner, and the Webster-Knowlton-Hazen Desk Maps are provided in Folder No. IV.)

- What do you think of the universal practice of coloring wall maps?
- What do you think of the amount of detail which appears in these wall maps?  
(One of the maps is always criticized adversely as being so filled with detail as to confuse rather than to clarify the student.)
- Do you like the idea of a sketch map of Paris shown in the corner? Why or why not?
- Do you like the scheme of coloring suggested in the Webster-Knowlton-Hazen outline maps?  
(The reader will recall that the sample sent out to teachers by the publishers suggests merely tracing a broad-band of color around each country. It is at least of passing interest that my classes with absolute unanimity set their faces against this method of working out the map. In their judgment it does not make for the clarity which a solid block of color secures and it seems to offend their artistic sense.)

#### 5. Large Maps of Cities.

- If you could get large scale maps of certain cities comparable to the one shown in Folder No. V (a large conventional plan of Baltimore), would you think them helpful?
- Name any cities for which you would want and use them, and the period of history with which they should

be associated.

The discussion invariably brings out the desirability of a large scale map of Paris for the French Revolution and for the riots at the establishment of the Third Republic; a map of London for the Stuart Period; a map of Boston and vicinity for the Revolutionary battles; of Charleston for the opening of the Civil War; and of Athens and Rome for Ancient History.

#### 6. Pictorial Maps of Cities.

(Folder No. VI contains a large bird's-eye view of Baltimore, one of London, and one of Boston.)

- a. If pictorial maps of the type of Class VI were available, what would you think of them? Why?

In the class discussion it usually develops that members would like them for a few large cities, such as Paris, London, Boston, and would make a limited use of them for dramatic episodes. Regret was expressed that such views are not possible for Athens and Rome to supplement the ground plans of those cities. Enthusiasm was not displayed for the restorations, as skepticism was entertained concerning the accuracy attainable.

#### 7. Guidance for Map-Work for Secondary School Pupils.

(Folder No. VII contains a series of plans for map work of the different courses through the high school, compiled by the writer, entitled *Maps to Make in American History, Maps to Make for Ancient History, Maps for European History to 1648*, etc. The exact number of maps required, with their titles, are listed, and specific directions of what the pupil should enter on each map written out for the pupil's guidance.)

- a. Study any one of the series of map directions given in Class VII.
  - b. Would you add anything?
  - c. Would you omit any item?
  - d. Criticize the number and choice of the maps required favorably or adversely.
- #### 8. Map Exercise Books.
- a. Study any one of the Map Exercise Books. (Folder VIII contains a number of Map Books, compiled by Bishop and Robinson, by F. H. Hodder, and issued by Ginn and Company.)
  - b. Read the preface of one of the books so as to understand the purpose.
  - c. Do you approve of tracing the maps through the thin paper provided?

It is interesting that while the class admits that greater accuracy, as claimed by the authors, is attainable by tracing than by free-hand drawing, the feel-

ing is that a pupil only knows a thing when he can do it, and hence preference is expressed for some drawing of maps from memory, while outline maps appear preferable for the permanent maps. There seems to be no enthusiasm on the part of these prospective teachers, still themselves students, for these exercise books; the separate outline maps are preferred.

#### 9. "The New-Old Type of Map."

- a. What do you think of the New-Old type of map, giving a pictorial representation of reality? (See Folder No. IX) Why?

(Here comes into play the maps collected with some effort and discussed in the first paragraphs of this article.)

Enthusiasm is manifested for this departure because it pictures reality, though I do not find the class willing to discard conventionalized maps. One is needed to supplement the other, according to their sane view.

#### 10. The Hart American Government Maps.

(The maps are the small copies of the Hart Government maps, showing Population density, the growth of Woman Suffrage, Immigration, Railroad Transportation at Various Periods, etc., sent out by the Denoyer-Geppert Company.)

- a. With what courses would you use these maps?
- b. What do you think of their value?

The class recognizes, of course, that these maps have their place in the courses in Community Civics and Problems of American Democracy and expresses prompt appreciation of their value for that work.

The writer feels regret that certain other types of maps cannot be included for brief study by her class of future history teachers, such as contour maps and weather maps, merely as a means of familiarizing them with the possibility of visual representation in many conventionalized forms. The writer feels so grateful for the enrichment to her history teaching by virtue of her courses in Physiography and Geology, where she learned to read this type of map, that she is jealous for her students to have that background. But two hours a week cannot be stretched to cover work in Geology and Cartography if the students are not to be cheated out of that for which they elected the course.

## Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

HOWARD E. WILSON, PH.D., *Harvard University*

The Middle States Association of History Teachers met at Atlantic City November 26, 1932. The morning session was addressed by Professor S. F. Bemis of George Washington University on "The International Setting of Washington's Farewell Address," by Mr. Ignatius D. Taubeneck on "International Affairs and the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools" and by Mr. Walter W. Haviland on "Why Remember William Penn?" The luncheon speaker was Professor F. C. James of the University of Pennsylvania whose topic was "Finance in World Affairs."

The general theme of these papers was international relations including both the technical processes whereby political and economic factors influence the course of diplomatic and private dealings between nations and

the proper methods of teaching an understanding of them in the schools.

The council of the association has decided to incorporate in the published proceedings an annual report on the textbooks and teaching aids appearing during the year which are of interest and importance to teachers of history and the social sciences. Dr. Arthur C. Bining of the University of Pennsylvania has been commissioned to prepare this report.

#### MINNESOTA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Approximately twelve hundred teachers attended the meetings of the Social Science Division of the Minnesota Education Association which met in St. Paul on October 28. President Wallace W. Atwood,

of Clark University, Professor Louis M. Sears, of Purdue University, Professor Conrad Peterson, of Gustavus Adolphus College, and Professor Joseph Kise were the speakers. President Atwood stressed the need of a sympathetic understanding of other people. Professor Sears showed how current events lapse into historical events and how the latter are frequently projecting themselves into current matters. Professor Peterson discussed modern problems and Professor Kise discussed some phases of the teaching of civics. Professor Kise was elected president of the history division of the state teachers association.

E. B. W.

#### STUDY COURSE ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association (6 East 39th Street, New York City) issued in June, 1932, a new syllabus for study groups dealing with the League of Nations. In a sixty-eight page booklet, available for fifteen cents, are chapters on "What the League of Nations Really Is," "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes," "Disarmament," "The League's Indirect Efforts toward Peace," "The League as a Social Agency," "The League and World Health," "The League and Minorities," "Mandates," "The League's Economic and Financial Work," and "The United States and the League." Mary E. Wooley writes the Foreword for the pamphlet; teaching suggestions and a selected bibliography are included.

#### INSTRUCTION IN CIVICS

Extracts from an address by W. M. Whitmyre, head of the Department of Social Studies at State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania, are printed in the *Teachers College Bulletin* of that institution for November, 1932. He attacks emphasis on local community life in the civics course and would re-emphasize the structure and function of government and the "specific duties of political citizenship." He suggests that, in addition to "properly trained teachers of personality," the following items are required for effective instruction in civics: proper organization of subject matter, systematic planning of the work, a suitable textbook, supplementary reading materials, laboratory equipment, field trips and conferences, pupils' participation in school and community activities, "educative classroom procedure," and "methods of determining results of civics instruction."

#### A UNIT IN WORLD HISTORY

In the same issue of the *Teachers College Bulletin* from Indiana, Pennsylvania, is an article by Ethel A. Belden on "Planning a Unit in World History." Taking the position that "one of the most potent factors in determining the success of a teacher is the ability to organize efficiently units of instruction," Miss Belden suggests the following five steps in planning a unit: "(1) the setting up of objectives, (2) the selection of subject matter, (3) the justification of the subject matter, (4) the preparation of a study guide that will contain appropriate activities and exercises, and (5) the formulation of a plan of recapitulation." The

suggestions made are illustrated in the article through presentation of a unit on the Renaissance.

#### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIAL-SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

The fall meeting of the Southern California Social-Science Association was held on November 19, 1932, at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. The day's program included discussion of problems confronting social-studies teachers, a luncheon at which Dr. Emory S. Bogardus was the speaker, and the election of officers. The officers for the coming year are:

President: Mr. Herhall Hart, Woodrow Wilson High School, Long Beach.

Vice-President: Mr. Herbert Woodruff, Redlands High School, Redlands.

Secretary: Miss Bernice Wilcox, Woodrow Wilson High School, Long Beach.

Treasurer: Mr. E. S. Sysinger, Fullerton High School, Fullerton.

Dr. Bogardus, recently returned from study in Italy, addressed the Association on the subject, "Fascism as a Social Movement." After explaining the origin and world-wide development of the movement he pointed out four principles upon which it is based—(1) the formation of a glorious national state; (2) autocracy centered in one person; (3) militarism relied on as the basis of autocracy; and (4) recognition of the importance of workers and their organization into great confederations subservient to the state. The address was closed with the suggestion that exaggerated individualism may have failed in the United States, but that democracy in its best sense has never adequately been tried.

V. F. O.

#### HIGH-SCHOOL SURVEY COURSES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE HUMANITIES

Following the recent reorganization of the curriculum for undergraduate study in the University of Chicago, the University High School is now collaborating with the university in offering corresponding general survey courses in the humanities, social sciences, physical sciences, and biological sciences. These courses are open to high-school seniors of advanced standing, and, if completed in addition to the sixteen units of work required for graduation, are recognized by the university. The pupils may take the regular college examinations at the end of the school year.

Pupils enrolled in these courses attend the regular lectures given by instructors in the university but write papers and meet for group discussions under the guidance of teachers in the high school. H. C. Hill, head of the school's social science department, has charge of discussion meetings in the social sciences, and A. F. Barnard, instructor in the same department, directs the study of pupils enrolled in the humanities.

J. R. D.

#### MATERIAL ON THE PARIS PACT

The National Student Forum on the Paris Pact (532 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C.), of which Arthur Charles Watkins is director, will send free of



charge to schools requesting it material useful in teaching about the Pact of Paris. The material includes a "textbook" on the Pact, and bibliographies, syllabi, and teaching outlines.

#### THE SOCIAL-STUDIES CURRICULUM FOR GRADES IV-VI

The University Elementary School, laboratory school of the University of Chicago, has reorganized its curriculum in the social studies for Grades IV, V, and VI. The new program is designed, according to the statement of objectives, "to build up understandings and develop habits of thought which are usable in comprehending our everyday American civilization," and "to emphasize the idea of our modern world as a continually changing world, as intimately linked to the past as it is surely related to the future." These aims are to be attained through study of the following sequence of correlated units.

##### Grade IV.

1. Early Man and How He Lived
2. The Hebrews—People with Flocks and Herds
3. The Egyptians—Early Farmers and Builders
4. The Phoenicians—Early Traders
5. The Greeks—Lovers of Freedom and Beauty
6. The Romans—Conquerors and Unifiers

##### Grade V.

7. How the German Invasion Changed the Roman World
8. How People Lived in the Middle Ages
9. How Travel and Invention Changed People's Ideas
10. The Finding of a New World
11. The Settlement of America
12. How People Lived in Colonial Times

##### Grade VI.

13. How Ways of Living Changed from Colonial Times
14. How Man Learned to Use Tools and Machines
15. How Man Learned to Improve His Means of Transportation
16. How Man Learned to Improve His Means of Communication
17. How Man Learned to Trade
18. How People Have Learned to Live Together

The units studied in Grades IV and V show a progression of civilizations as represented by different periods or peoples; those studied in Grade VI present a longitudinal view of some of the important social institutions.

J. R. D.

#### INVESTIGATIONS PROPOSED

Miss Mary V. Smith, State Teachers College, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, is studying the problem of teaching pupils to outline, as part of their technique of studying social studies and will be pleased to hear of any experience which teachers of social studies have had in teaching their pupils to outline.

Mr. Harold A. Anderson, University High School, Chicago, Illinois, is making an investigation of the cor-

relation between English and community civics in the junior high school grades and will appreciate hearing from any teachers who have effected or observed correlation between the two subjects.

#### POETRY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The Stephen Daye Press, of Brattleboro, Vermont, has recently issued a small volume, *Poetry in the New Curriculum*, by John Hooper. The book is designed as "a practical manual for elementary teachers" and contains an excellent chapter on "Poetry and the Social Studies." Mr. Hooper is now at work collecting poetry written by junior high school pupils which has social-science import.

#### NEW ENGLAND HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

The autumn meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association was held at Boston University on November 12, 1932. After a short business meeting, two sectional meetings were held, one devoted to European history and one to American history. Speakers at the European history section were Professors Robert C. Binkley, speaking on the "Interpretation of the History of Europe Since 1815," and Gaetano Salvemini, speaking on "Florence at the Time of Dante." President Horace Morse presided. The American-history section took the form of a round-table discussion on the report of a committee of the Association appointed a year ago to consider the question of the College Entrance Examinations in history. Mr. Philip Chase, chairman of the committee, presided. The committee recommended certain modifications of the existing examination but no decisive action was taken.

Officers of the Association for the coming year are:

President: Mrs. Madeline K. Durfee, Cranston High School, Cranston, Rhode Island.

Vice-President: Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University.

Secretary-Treasurer: Horace Kidger, Newton High School, Newton, Massachusetts.

#### THE QUESTION OF INDOCTRINATION

In a pamphlet titled, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day Company, 1932), Dr. George S. Counts urges teachers to face the realities of life as it is—the bitter realities of poverty, social injustice, and the evils of unrestrained capitalism. He writes, "Teachers must abandon much of their easy optimism, subject the concept of education to the most vigorous scrutiny, and be prepared to deal much more fundamentally, realistically, and positively with the American social situation than has been their habit in the past." Discussing Dr. Counts's pamphlet in an article, "The Teacher in Politics," in *Progressive Education* of October, 1932 (Vol. IX, No. 6, pp. 414-418), Dean Henry W. Holmes argues that teachers are not prepared to deal realistically with problems until they have developed a social policy of education which envisages the "improvements in society" which "may be hoped for and worked for in the name of education." Teachers and curriculum-makers who are concerned with the problem of indoctrination in education, and

especially indoctrination in the social studies, will find both pamphlet and article well worth reading.

#### QUALITIES OF THE GOOD TEACHER

Dr. Lee Paul Sieg in discussing "Who Are the Good Teachers?" in *School and Society* for October 15, 1932, sets up nine qualities, most of which are possessed by good teachers.

*First*, the good teacher has knowledge.

*Second*, "the good teacher is filled through and through with eagerness to lead others into his own delightful world of ideas."

*Third*, the good teacher is considerate, kind, and at ease under all circumstances.

*Fourth*, the good teacher is loyal to the institution for which he works.

*Fifth*, he is interesting and can bring the duller subject to life.

*Sixth*, the good teacher is a good listener.

*Seventh*, he is orderly.

*Eighth*, "the good teacher can be on occasion a severe task-master."

*Ninth*, he can be consciously ignorant of his job and have the curiosity and humility to discover new ways.

"It is not what he does that stamps the teacher; it is what he is and how full and rich is his understanding." It is the invisible fourth dimension that

marks the good teacher. "Just as this intangible fourth dimension, rising far above mere technique, gives music, painting and poetry the immortal touch, so this magic can really make the great teacher."

N. E. B.

#### METHODS OF INSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY COURSES

William P. Cooper, history instructor, Barton High School, Barton, Maryland, reports the results of a comparative study between the unit and recitation methods of teaching American history ("The Method and Content for a Course in American History," Master's Thesis, University of Maryland, 1932). The author reaches the following conclusions:

1. That a modified unit method of instruction avails itself of the best parts of the socialized recitation and the project method.

2. That in Barton High School, where the recitation method was used for three years, followed by the use of the modified unit method for a similar period, test scores favor the modified unit method of instruction.

3. That the median achievement in American history classes of the nine high schools of Allegany County, Maryland, using the modified unit method was from two to fifty points higher as measured by the Columbia Bureau of Research American Test than where the recitation method was used in the same schools.

## Book Reviews

Edited by PROFESSOR HARRY J. CARMAN AND J. BARTLETT BREBNER, Columbia University

*Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills.*

By Roy Franklin Nichols. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1931. xvii, 615 pp.

*John Sevier, Pioneer of the Old Southwest.* By Carl S. Driver. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1932, viii, 240 pp.

*Portrait of An Independent: Moorfield Story, 1845-1929.* By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1932. iii, 384 pp.

*Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession.* By Laura A. White. The Century Company, New York, 1931. ix, 264 pp.

*George Washington, Republican Aristocrat.* By Bernard Fäy. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1931. xvi, 297 pp.

*Bedford Forrest, The Confederacy's Greatest Cavalryman.* By Captain Eric William Sheppard.

These six biographies vary greatly in subject matter, workmanship and scholarly contribution. Each presents with candor and sympathy a distinctive figure, typical, in many respects, of the time and place in which he lived. No effort is made either to glorify or to debunk. Facts where available, are not concealed and whenever possible are allowed to speak for themselves.

From the pen of Professor Nichols, Franklin Pierce emerges not as a weakling as has been generally held, but as a small-town New England lawyer whose in-

tellectual equipment was only average and who was vain and fond of show. Son of a Revolutionary soldier he was nurtured on Jeffersonian distrust of Federalist capitalists, and all his life he vigorously opposed the efforts of special interests to use the government for their advantage. His rural environment and his hatred of corporate wealth account for his enthusiastic participation in Jackson's war on the National Bank and his opposition to certain railroads and other public improvement companies. Pierce apparently failed to appreciate the strength of the moral indignation in the North against slavery. He was not pro-South but his legal training and his strict interpretation of the Constitution made him a stout defender of property rights. Free soilers like John P. Hale and John A. Dix were to Pierce not only renegade Democrats but sowers of discontent. Moreover, Pierce was blind to the irresistible forces of industrialization and urbanization which were transforming America. Consequently his effort to apply his pastoral ideals to the new America were bound to fail. All this and more is the picture Professor Nichols portrays. The task he essayed for himself has been splendidly done and with each passing year his life of Pierce will more and more be regarded as definitive.

In Professor Driver's monograph based largely upon manuscript material, John Sevier turns out to be

not the glamorous, romantic hero so frequently portrayed by the historians in the past but a very real and human person. After tracing his career as pioneer, Indian fighter, Revolutionary soldier, land speculator and politician Professor Driver concludes that he deserves a position of some dignity and importance above others of his time and section. Chapter IV entitled "A Frontier Land Gambler" is especially informing and shows that Sevier was not averse to sharp practices in his many land deals. In seeking to negotiate with Spain he came dangerously near to being classed as a traitor. New light is thrown on Sevier's feud with Andrew Jackson. One or two slips in proof reading occur. The "Estanaula" on page 28 appears as the "Estinaula" on page 36. On page 19 we are told that the Indian War came to an end in 1777 but on the following page the date is given as 1776. On page 39 the battle of Kings Mountain is referred to as marking "the turning of the tide of the Revolution" but on page 58 it is spoken of as "a minor engagement." But these slips do not seriously detract from the value of this painstaking study. Certainly its author has helped greatly to put Sevier in his proper historical niche even though his literary tools are not always of the highest quality.

Mr. Howe's portrait of Moorfield Storey is a masterpiece of its kind. Storey, who began his career as private secretary to Charles Sumner, was a graduate of Harvard. His claim to fame rests not so much upon the fact that he became a notable Boston lawyer and an overseer of Harvard but rather that for more than half a century he was one of America's most outstanding Independents. A cultured, charming gentleman given to innumerable kindnesses and generosities, he was, nevertheless, at all times, a critic and a fighter as far as things social and political were concerned. He hated conformity especially if it were entwined with what he believed was wrong. Majorities constantly felt the impact of his ideas and ideals. Both men and measures provoked him to disagreement and his correspondence with Charles Francis Adams and others of his time abounds in frank and caustic comment which usually provoked frank speech from others. A Mugwump, a civil service reformer, an anti-imperialist and a champion of the Negro race he exemplified his own preachments: to fight bravely for a principle even if one doesn't live to see it triumph and to work for the creation of public opinion. An independent thinker, unswayed by considerations of popularity he might well serve, as Mr. Howe suggests, as a model for a species of citizenship much needed in America today.

Professor White's admirable study of Robert Barnwell Rhett is one of the publications of the American Historical Association. As a contribution to the literature of American history it belongs in a class with the volume on Franklin Pierce. Based largely upon primary sources including the Rhett Papers it presents for the first time a full length portrait of the father of secession and one of the most significant figures not only in the history of the South but of the nation. Born at Beaufort, South Carolina in 1800, Rhett (whose name was Smith) became a lawyer and in 1826 became a member of the legislature of his native state. A revo-

lutionist and a crusader he was henceforth a storm center in Southern politics. Miss White traces his career as the leader of the nullification movement, his activities in national politics, his part in driving the agrarian South and the industrial and banking North to arms, and finally his rôle during the Civil War and reconstruction. Of the volume's eleven chapters number eleven, entitled "A Prophet Without Honor," is in many respects the best. Not only does it vividly portray the disdain in which Rhett held Jefferson Davis but it affords the reader a more complete picture of Rhett himself. No student of the Civil War and its antecedents should ignore this volume.

Professor Fäy's beautifully manufactured book contains nothing new in the way of factual material. The chapter titles indicate its scope: "George Washington, Gentleman," "The Legend of Colonel Washington," "Colonel Washington at Home," "The Dictatorship of General Washington" and "George Washington the Father of His Country." Much can be said in support of Professor Fäy's contention that Washington was an aristocrat. The facts, however, would hardly substantiate the statement that "like the feudal system of the Middle Ages, Virginia was made up of three classes: the serfs, the freedmen, and the nobility" (p. 10). From a literary standpoint the book is extremely readable.

Captain Sheppard belongs to that very able group of British army officers who have long been interested in the American Civil War. His *Life of General Forrest* places him alongside Henderson, Maurice, Liddell-Hart and others of his countrymen who have been so instrumental in helping to delineate Lee, Sherman and other Civil War figures. General Forrest, brilliant, uncouth and always picturesque, should, in the opinion of Captain Sheppard, go down in history as one of the world's greatest cavalry leaders. In some respects he was like those Southern warriors who so harassed the English during the Revolution. A sketch map indicating the scope of Forrest's operations adds to the value of the book.

C.

*British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell.*

By W. P. Morrell. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930. 544 pp. \$9.00.

During the past dozen years or so the British Empire has received scarcely less attention at the hands of publicists and historians than Russia. Moreover this attention has by no means been limited to contemporary developments, but on the other hand has frequently turned toward the past. With all of this interest, however, certain phases of imperial history have been slighted. The romance of acquisition appears so much more attractive a subject than the analysis of policy and motives that systematic studies of British colonial policy are all too rare. Yet before a definitive history of the British Empire can be written we shall have to know a great deal more concerning the motives back of expansion and the attitude of the mother country toward its territories. The book under review goes a long way toward filling the gaps in our knowledge.

The comparatively short period Mr. Morrell has



chosen for his research is one of the most difficult in view of the fact that new interests and new ideas were demanding the beginning of a new policy. This very fact, however, makes the period more than worthy of analysis. The years from 1841 to 1852 witnessed the activity of the colonial reformers in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand—although that activity had begun some years previous—; the continuation of the labor problem in the West Indies, growing out of emancipation; the expansion in what now constitutes the Dominions; the evolution of imperial ideas with respect to self-government and to federation, fiscal reform, and the rapid exportation of British capital; as well as the variety of more particular imperial developments from India to the Falkland Islands and back again.

By far the greater part of the author's book is concerned with imperial policy in regard to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indies. There are also chapters on British colonial policy from 1815 to 1841, and on the colonial office and its chief incumbents during the period under intensive review. Especially is Mr. Morrell interested in Lord Grey, an interest mounting almost to devotion, and in addition to a history of his tenure as colonial secretary he receives chapters treating both his relation to the colonial reformers, and his imperial ideas and place in imperial history. The course of events is set down in a straightforward narrative; and in general the point of view is conventional and imperialistic rather than critical. Due acknowledgement is paid Wakefield for his ideas with the qualification that "if he was half genius, he was also half charlatan." Wakefield's great opponent and critic, Sir James Stephen, is described as "one of the most remarkable men of his generation" and receives the author's approval of his policies.

With all the excellencies of this book, among the most conspicuous of which is the full exposition of the problems of trade and directed colonization, there are a few gaps to be noticed. Given the title of the book and the obvious effort at comprehensiveness, it might be asked why Mr. Morrell did not see fit to include certain other topics. In particular the reviewer would have welcomed more attention to India, an examination of the relation between capital exports and colonial policy, some appreciation of the influence of international politics upon colonial policy, and a brief analysis of the fluctuations of public opinion with respect to imperial expansion and administration. After all, colonial policy is not merely colonial office policy, and all the official records in England would not suffice to place the history of British policy in its most complete perspective. In spite of the gaps, however, Mr. Morrell has produced a welcome book, informative and interpretive, and equipped with a valuable bibliographical apparatus.

CHARLES F. MULLETT

*University of Missouri*

*Rural Russia under the old Regime.* By Geroid Tanquary Robinson. New York: Longman's. 342 pages, \$4.00.

A. N. Radischev, a well known Russian publicist of the latter part of the 18th century, characterized the

position of the Russian peasant in the existing social scheme by saying that he possessed only that "which could not be taken away from him—air," and that "before the law he was a dead soul." Professor Robinson's work, an important English contribution to the history of the agrarian movement of Russia, indicates that Radischev's statements were no exaggeration of fact but stark reality; that what was true of the position of the peasant at the end of the 18th century, held true, with but slight variations, on the eve of and after the legal abolition of serfdom. It is in this light, then, that the peasant of the "Rural Russia under the old Regime," conservative and illiterate, but at the same time growing increasingly class conscious, became the main-spring of a revolutionary Russia, and in Professor Robinson's words, provided the "Prologue to the Peasant Revolution of 1917."

This thesis emerges as the author proceeds with his analysis of the Russian agrarian problem, which is subjected throughout to a strictly economic interpretation. Reduced to its essentials the problem resolves itself into the peasant's struggle for the ownership of the land he worked as opposed to the large landowners who insisted on preserving the *status quo*. Whether Professor Robinson's history deals with the beginnings of serfdom or with the significance of the Emancipation or the Revolution of 1905—the issue drawn is fundamentally the same—land for the hungry villages. The author marshals facts to show that the Russian peasant never accepted his position under the old regime. In and out of serfdom, he knew what he wanted. The uprisings from the days of Bogdan Chmelnitzky, culminating in the events of 1905 and 1917, are a fair indication that Russian "peasantism" was after the land, cost what it might.

But did the abolition of serfdom solve the land problem, to wit, did the serfs get the land? Robinson's searching analysis of the pros and cons of the question involved shows conclusively that such was not the case. Having entrusted the nobility with the all important power of determining the price, quality and quantity of land allotted to the "liberated" serfs, the net result, so far as the peasant was concerned, was the emergence of a new kind of economic slavery. Therefore when appraising the significance of the "Great Reform" in terms of "what it was that the peasant received and at what cost," Professor Robinson writes that after the emancipation the Russian village was composed of "former serfs with diminished lands and exorbitant obligations, the former state peasants with more generous allotments but with burdens heavier than before . . . with severe restrictions upon the disposition of their persons and their property." Under such conditions the author's comment on the period before the Emancipation that "the peasant millions were hardly likely to forget the 'Golden Age of Roman Nobility,' but they would perhaps remember it by some other name," brings closer to the readers' attention the significance and character of the Rural-agrarian Revolution of 1905, properly interpreted as such by Professor Robinson.

The Russian Government recognized the fact that

the Revolution of 1905 stemmed from the village. Therefore, while it dared to revoke the October Manifesto without much ado and crush the revolution, it "no longer thought it possible to deal with the villagers by aggressive measures alone," and was forced to consider the agrarian problem once more as is evidenced by the famous Stolypin land reform.

Professor Robinson delves deeply into the significance of that reform, realizing that that was the last attempt of the old regime to solve the land problem of Russia on its own terms, and thus to stave off the advent of the revolution. The rôle of the peasants during the years 1902-1906 brought close to Stolypin's attention the fact that a segregated peasant commune had not sufficed to keep the peasants in their place as the conservative foundation of the country. Therefore his decree resolved itself into a determination to break up the commune, "the nursery of socialist bacilli," and to quicken the social differentiation within the peasantry, betting, as he expressed it, "not on the needy and the drunken, but on the sturdy and the strong—on the sturdy individual proprietor . . ."

The plan to build up a rich peasant group without jeopardizing the land holdings of the rich landowners left open encroachments on the land-holdings of the poor peasants as the only course of action. But while a well disguised scheme of robbing Peter to pay Paul works on occasion, the attempt here, as Robinson so admirably expresses it, "to pacify the peasants, not by providing them with land they want, but by teaching

them not to want it," teaching them "not to try to take it," sadly overlooked Peter's ability to drive a hard bargain. And what was more important, the scheme could hardly have succeeded once it overlooked the centuries old egalitarian principle of land division which the peasants had nursed so hopefully. It is doubtful, however, as Professor Robinson hints, whether at that time the expropriation of the land of the nobility and its division among the peasants would have raised the level of the latter to a higher plane. There is sufficient indication that the real solution was not in an egalitarian division of the land but rather in a more efficient utilization of land which would extend beyond the boundary of the small peasant farm, or "in altering," as the author points out, "the relationship of the peasants with the land that they already had." But during the period considered here the demands of the peasants could not have been satisfied on any other basis than "All land to the peasants." And because, as Professor Robinson points out, neither the Emancipation nor the Revolution of 1905 achieved that, it remained for the Revolution of February, 1917, to satisfy their demands, and yet for another revolution to test and perhaps discard the validity of a literal application of "All land to the peasants."

A final evaluation of Professor Robinson's book merits more than a consideration of its substance. Within the limits of the subject matter dealt with in the work, the author reveals a scholarship at once exhaustive and precise. This latter quality is the more

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## Robinson-Breasted-Beard HISTORY OF EUROPE

This two-year course for high schools is one of the most widely used of the popular Robinson-Breasted-Beard histories. Both volumes have recently been revised. To bring the story strictly down to date, to include recent historical findings, and to adapt the books to the changed conditions which exist today in many high schools through greater simplicity in style and vocabulary have been the primary objects of this revision. The two volumes are

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL, 668 pages,  
illustrated, \$1.96

OUR OWN TIMES, 657 pages, illustrated, \$1.96

GINN AND COMPANY

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Dallas, Columbus, San Francisco

apparent because of an uncommonly lucid and clear prose style. But while the work under review possesses both literary lucidity and ease, the author eschews the short-cuts followed by so many of his contemporaries who would cover up with literary glibness ground left untouched. The years spent by Professor Robinson in painstaking research probably made his journey a more difficult one, but in the end he achieves that which is usually denied those who prefer to travel light.

W. I. LADEJINSKY

New York City

*Monetary Inflation in Chile.* By Frank Whitson Fetter. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1931. xvi, 213 pp. \$2.50.

*Reorganization of the Financial Administration of the Dominican Republic.* By Taylor G. Addison. The Brookings Institution, Washington, 1931. x, 105 pp. \$5.00.

*Military Government in the Canal Zone.* By Harry N. Howard. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1931. 62 pp. \$5.00.

*The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies.* By George Pratt Insh. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York and London, 1932. 343 pp. \$4.00.

*Maya-Spanish Crosses in Yucatan.* By George Dee Williams. Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. xv, 256 pp., 47 plates.

*Laboratory Manual in the Geography of South America for College Students.* By Clarence F. Jones and Floyd F. Cunningham. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931. 133 pp. \$1.00.

Any study of the finances of an Hispanic American state at this time will be particularly welcome by many United States citizens who have fortunately or unfortunately invested in the bonds of the neighboring continental states. The first volume was begun more than six years before the Chilean socialistic revolt of 1932 and in consequence is a study which can be read for a basic understanding of many subsequent events. The work is thorough, scholarly, and well done. It is an historical treatment, the first, in English, of the finances of the Chilean State developing chronologically in twelve chapters the several distinct periods as the author sees them, and showing paradoxically how an important modern state with an educated ruling class, comparative peace, a gold reserve, and valuable products has suffered from a "long-continued depreciation" in its currency. The book points out that Chilean financial ills have been chiefly due to stubborn legislators who have persistently refused to recognize certain important factors in the national life and who successively issued inconvertible paper money in large quantities. In this way the numerous parallels between the financial affairs of the United States and Chile are clearly made evident.

The second work is much less pretentious, but it is nevertheless a careful account of Santo Domingan financial affairs as they exist today in consequence of the recommendations made by the Dawes survey of that country's finances. The author was one of several ex-

perts who remained in Santo Domingo at the request of its Government in order to put into effect the suggestions made by the Dawes Commission. Thus the booklet is a highly technical treatise dealing with "Financial and Business Procedure" and with "Uniform Accounting Procedure," these being the titles of the two parts into which the work is divided. An appendix contains laws and pro-forma statements regarding certain financial problems.

The third book here cited is diminutive being about three and one-half inches by four and one-half inches in size. But in this brief space is to be found a monographic summary of the whole question of Canal Zone administration. The book is divided into five chapters and a brief bibliography and treatment is both chronological and logical. It thus constitutes a handy summary for those who wish to spend only a few minutes in obtaining the essential facts about the subject.

The fourth volume is written by an authority of wide reputation, who gives in a clear, scholarly, and most interesting manner the story of "The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies" which began tentatively in 1693 and ended formally in 1707. Though there have been many other volumes written about the Company, this is the first completely authentic account, and as such it should have a place as a reference on all reading lists which treat the commerce of the Spanish colonies during the early part of the Eighteenth Century. The book is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the Company in Europe (England, Scotland, Holland, and Germany), the second dealing with the Company in the Isthmus of Darien, and the third dealing with the Company in both Africa and the Indies. Throughout the story run the threads of the biography of William Paterson, who, contrary to general belief, was not the founder of the Company, but who had much to do with its activities, particularly in Europe and Panama. The book is concluded by a brief appendix and a good index.

The title of the fifth book may no doubt mislead some persons into thinking that it is an archaeological or religious treatment. But the work deals with the physical anthropology and ethnology of the State of Yucatan, Mexico where the author and his wife spent some time in 1927 studying the Maya Indians and the physical results of inter-social mixing of those Indians with the Spanish conquerors. The investigators during their stay examined about 2500 natives of whom less than 1600 are here considered. The book is highly technical and is replete with statistics, graphs, and illustrations. It thus forms a distinct contribution to the sociology, history, and ethnology of this particular portion of Mexico.

In the laboratory manual listed above, the teacher of South American geography, and for that matter the student of Hispanic American history and economics, will find a valuable aid. The forty-one maps and graphs which have been especially prepared to supplement textbook work are to be completed by the student in colors suggested in the attached instructions. Pertinent questions in fifty projects are also given so that the teacher will find that he is saved time and energy in



presenting the facts of his course. Seldom does such a helpful manual appear.

A. CURTIS WILGUS

*The George Washington University*

*The International Labor Organisation. The First Decade.* Preface by Albert Thomas. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. London, 1931. Pp. 382. \$3.50. (Distributed in the United States by the World Peace Foundation, Boston).

This survey comes as a welcome companion to the one issued recently by the League of Nations Publication Department with the title "Ten Years of World Coöperation." In the preface to the present volume it is pointed out that the earlier publication of the League covered "every international sphere save one—that of labor." This gap in the record of the first decade of international coöperation is now filled.

This is a happy fact. Prior to the appearance of this volume the literature on this subject was incomplete. And before the Office itself had spoken the evidence was not all in. Now, however, we have not only a satisfactory running account of the activities of the Organization during its first decade, but also the most authoritative appraisal possible of those activities. The scope is comprehensive: Part I deals with the structure and functions of the Organization; its "Word" is described in detail in Part II; there is an evaluation of results in Part III; while Part IV treats the relations between the Organization and states, employers' organizations, workers' organizations, and various social institution, in the historical sense, therefore, the survey is a full one.

In the analytical sense as well, it is full—and significant. Possibly no phase of non-political post-war activity has been the subject of more controversy than the value of international labor conventions. In the United States particularly the tendency has been to minimize their usefulness. But the officials of the International Labor Office are under no such cloud of skepticism. The reasons back of this conviction are presented in Chapter II of Part III of this volume. Here is a convincing analysis of the effective results of the conventions adopted by the Conference. After pondering it one is lead to agree with M. Thomas, whose opinion is given on page 8: "... these conventions have, in the words of the Treaty, conferred lasting benefits on numbers of workers." Possibly this is the most significant example which might be cited of the value of the work from the analytical viewpoint; yet it is merely illustrative of the thoroughness with which the authors have undertaken their task.

But the particular merit of the volume, to this reviewer at least, is that it is full of vitality. It is novel—and refreshing—to uncover an official approach to international affairs, which, while realistic, is at the same time vibrant with hope. It would be surprising, indeed, were this survey to be other than realistic, for its authors are officials of the International Labor Office and are, therefore, in continuous contact with all the factors in this phase of the international drama. But it would not be surprising for such a volume to be

tedious and matter-of-fact, permeated with a feeling of disillusionment, and narrow and traditional in its outlook. For the most part permanent officials are hardly given to an imaginative and courageous handling of affairs. Yet throughout this book there prevail a spirit of buoyancy and hope and a feeling of better things to come for the world of labor which stand out in striking contrast to the usual tone of official publications. It is no doubt true, as is stated on page 99, that "a period of depression always entails the spread of reaction against social progress." Yet this "confession of faith" of certain officials of the International Labor Office, as M. Thomas calls it, serves notice, as it were, that so long as Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles stands, international labor will not lack a potent champion of its interests.

It is a pleasure to recommend this book to all who are interested in international social progress.

DONALD C. BLAISDELL

*Williams College*

*The French Revolution.* By Pierre Gaxotte. Translated from the French by Walter Alison Phillips. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932. 416 pp.

This is not a work of profound scholarship of the grade of that of Mathiez, Aulard or Sorel, nor is it a carefully arranged textbook of the type by Gottschalk or Bourne. It is rather a vivid and always interesting interpretation of the meaning of the events of 1789-1799 by a brilliant Frenchman with a gift for attractive and effective expression. To many a reader, somewhat weary of the piling up of evidence to bolster a biased opinion of the events themselves, or fatigued with the effort to make of the Revolution a panorama of intriguing personalities, this searching analysis of the results of the horror and difficulty in which the Revolution involved France, will be quite refreshing.

M. Gaxotte does not escape, in his very decisive conclusions, a strong bias (an attitude of mind of which some of the greatest of historians are often guilty). He has a feeling that the Revolution was caused by the blunders of Louis XVI, who undid or allowed others to undo, the hopeful strides toward adjustment which he feels were accomplished by 1774; the ineptitude of the King was accompanied by the jealous and disloyal antics of the *parlements* and the general blindness of a society which dallied too long with destructive philosophy. His bias is thus that of a traditional believer in the possibility of the French monarchy putting its own house in order, had the loyalty of the advisers around the King been what it should, and had the personality of the monarch been adequate to the occasion. He seems to be quite unimpressed by any personalities—cares little for the King, Danton, Robespierre, Neck-er or Lafayette. And as for Napoleon, who appears briefly in the last chapter (Brumaire), he apparently feels that, given the long train of unfortunate episodes which bad government and poor statesmanship had set in motion between 1774 and 1799, the French had only themselves to blame for the dictatorship of the military. The book is the view of a traditionalist who de-

plores much of the Revolution, but its clarity and vigor makes a book well worth reading.

C. R. HALL

*Adelphi College*

*Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century.* By Robert Joseph Kerner. New York, Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. xii, 412. \$4.00.

This work of Professor Kerner of the University of California is almost priceless in its own field. To be able to study Bohemia in the eighteenth century requires a knowledge of Czech, German, French and Latin for the examination of the documents pertaining to that period. Not many American scholars can boast of such a distinction, but Professor Kerner can. We are presented with a work based almost entirely on the archives of Prague and Vienna; at the same time, the author has utilized all the important secondary works in the field, which support his conclusions, although they really cannot contribute very much to his original research; particularly because Czechoslovak scholarship has limited itself, for the most part, to research in the political and cultural field, and lags somewhat behind in the economic and social sphere, whereas Dr. Kerner explores the latter in the same thorough fashion as the political one.

This work, it must be noted, is really more than a history of Bohemia only. It must be read by those who claim to understand the history of Central Europe with special reference to Austria-Hungary. We can form a well-unified picture from this volume. The end of the eighteenth century was characterized here by the clash of forces, modern and medieval, centralizing and decentralizing, denationalizing and nationalizing, coinciding with the time of the French revolution, which came near to having a side-show in the Hapsburg Monarchy. That it did not spread to the Hapsburg dominions was owing to several reasons which are made quite evident in this work. It is true that there was much dissatisfaction. After the manner of the French in their *cahiers*, the Estates in Central Europe presented their *desideria* and demanded many changes, which have been analyzed thoroughly by the author. From them emerges a picture of the struggle, largely theoretical and academic, to preserve the semblance of the independent Bohemian State in the midst of the highly practical attempts of Maria Theresa and Joseph II to weld the Hapsburg Monarchy into a single and modern German state. The conflict then is evident between the forces of weak Czech nationalism and powerful German imperialism, of medieval political conceptions and modern centralizing tendencies. The masses of the Bohemian people favored the economic and social reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, but the Estates representing the old order did not, though there was one exception to this: the Czech nation as a whole, where it expressed itself, was opposed to the Germanizing tendencies of Vienna. This was the root of the Czech national revival.

By 1790 the forces which resulted in making Bohemia officially German and in reawakening the Czech national spirit confronted each other. We might thus

notice, for example, that the Estates, in spite of their reactionary character, asked the restoration of Latin and Czech in certain schools; this demand was most persistent among the clergy, who really were fighting for their existence, fearing that the further trend of Germanization would make the clergy German and two-thirds of the inhabitants of Bohemia atheists. The positive result was the creation of a chair of the Czech language at the University and in the gymnasia at Prague.

Thus we come to the threshold of a new era, which became strengthened by the restoration of some of the Bohemia's constitutional rights. Here the excellent study of Kerner finishes. The value of the work is enhanced by the critical bibliography of 31 pages, the like of which cannot be found elsewhere. We might cite a minor criticism regarding the occasional misspelling of the Czech. Otherwise the work is a model of its type, exemplifying the fine scholarly work, which can be done when the writer is a scholar to start with, reads fluently the necessary foreign languages, studies the essential documents on the spot, and knows how to present his case well.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

*Centenary Junior College, Hackettstown, N. J.*

*History of Modern Europe.* By Chester P. Higby. The Century Company, New York: 1932. Pp. xi, 569, with maps. \$3.50.

Professor Higby's survey of Europe from the time of the national uprisings against Napoleon to current events is another of the volumes of the Century Historical Series which is edited by Professor Dana C. Munro. It also marks the completion of the work begun by Professor Higby in his *History of Modern Europe (1492-1815)* (Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1927).

The structure of the work is political, but the economic changes which occurred in the nineteenth century receive a large share of attention. Particularly well done is the treatment of the domestic development of the European states from 1870 to 1914. Nationalism has not been neglected as a driving force in the history of the period. The national uprisings against Napoleon are noted and the growth of nationalism throughout the countries of Europe traced. In this connection, the sections dealing with Slav nationalism are worthy of note.

Although generally correct in statement and proportion, there are a few deviations. Picayune though the point may be, the author's remark as to Bismarck that, "Disliking the life of an administrative official, he had resigned from the service of the government" (page 190) is not true. Bismarck was really dismissed from the public service because of "deficiency in regularity and discipline." The omission of the part played by the banker, Laffite, in the July Revolution of 1830 in France indicates the fact that the author overlooked the importance of the economic factor involved in that event. The portion of the volume dealing with post-war Europe suffers from the neglect of the course of affairs in post-war Spain, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

The organization and style of the book lend clarity to the wealth of detail and presented. An up-to-date, sixty-five page bibliography, maps, and an index complete the volume which is worthy of the attention of students of modern European history.

JAMES M. EAGAN

New York City

*Incredible Pizarro Conqueror of Peru.* By Frank Shay. The Mohawk Press, New York, 1932. x, 342 pp. \$3.50.

*Conquistador.* By E. J. Craine. Duffield and Green, New York, 1931. xiv, 288 pp.

*The Life and Works of José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi.* By Jefferson Rea Spell. University of Pennsylvania Press, Phila., 1931. 141 pp. \$1.75.

*Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas.* Vol. I. By Charles Wilson Hackett. The University of Texas Press, Austin, 1931. xx, 630 pp. \$6.50.

It is one of the vagaries of the historical muse that a man about whom so much was written by his contemporaries, should suffer today from the lack of both popular and scholarly treatment at the hands of biographers. Yet Pizarro, one of the greatest of Spanish conquerors in America, has not received his just share of historical writers. Perhaps some have been afraid to rush in where a Prescott dare to tread. But with the appearance of this book the student of Hispanic American history has in a brief space the story of the illiterate swineheard who turned noble conqueror. It is true that the author is an enthusiastic admirer of his hero, and that he has not always been accurate in his facts or in his use of words as when he speaks of Pizarro as "Viceroy," yet the picture is well painted as a whole and the reader feels that he knows Pizarro long before he has completed the volume. Such a work, in consequence, meets the requirement of the teacher of the subject and satisfies the needs of the students.

The second volume here listed is a book for boys and perhaps for that reason the author has taken liberties, for there are many historical inaccuracies in the work, and little evidence that the writer has any knowledge of the Spanish language. The story is based upon the account by Pedro Cieza de León (1519-1560) of the expedition to the Pearl Coast and Peru of Pedro de Heredia in the first half of the sixteenth century. Both of these men had many thrilling adventures, and the author has caught the spirit of the story although his exercise of poetic license is frequently disconcerting to the historical reader.

The next book is a scholarly summary in thesis form based upon source material found in the valuable Genaro García collection of manuscripts at the University of Texas. The hero Fernández de Lizardi, was one of the leading literary patriots of the Revolts for independence in New Spain, being born there on Nov. 15, 1776, of Creole parents. After his education and marriage he began his literary career by writing in 1808 a poem in celebration of Ferdinand VII's accession to the Spanish throne. This was followed by

other poems soon after printed in pamphlet form. At the same time he began to write poems in which he criticized the Spanish system of government, and in a short time he associated himself with the Revolutionists against the mother country turning journalistic reformer, pamphleteer, and novelist. In consequence of his articles the Church excommunicated him and he was at various times jailed for his writings. His share of hardships began finally to effect his physical vigor, and at last he contracted tuberculosis and in April, 1827, he died, fighting his enemies to the last. His burial place became later the site of a pig-sty and today no one knows where he was buried. The book recounts the interesting vicissitudes of Lizardi's life, and describes his numberless writings attempting to place him in the proper perspective among other literary men of Mexico. The account is exceedingly valuable in that it gives an admirable picture of the Independence period from the literary standpoint.

In the fourth volume is to be found the first part of a treatise by Father José Antonio Pichardo written between 1808 and 1812 to prove that Texas was not included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and to show "that Spain was the legal, sole and absolute owner of all the domain in which the French founded Louisiana." Father Pichardo had undertaken this two fold task after his appointment as the head of an historical commission created by the Spanish Government to disprove President Jefferson's claims that his purchase extended to the Rio Grande. Three thousand pages of facts and documents were marshalled by the investigator, and to the satisfaction of Spain at least, his contentions were proved. Part I and a portion of Part II of the whole manuscript, containing in all about one million words, is here translated into English for the first time. The remaining parts are to appear subsequently. When completed the volumes will furnish a mine of information about the Texas-Mexican border which should be of immense value in throwing light on the early relations of Mexico and the United States.

A. CURTIS WILGUS

George Washington University

*Mediaeval Costume and Life.* By Dorothy Hartley with introduction and notes by Francis M. Kelly. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931. xiv + 142 pp. \$5.00.

Miss Hartley is also joint-author of *Life and Work of the People of England* (6 vols., A.D. 1000-1800). *Mediaeval Costume and Life* is "a review of their social aspects arranged under various classes and workers with instructions for making numerous types of dress." It is, therefore a book which would be useful for pupils in domestic art in dramatics, and in medieval history, although those in the latter subject would profit most by careful study of the pictures. The text is designed to assist makers of antiquated costumes.

Seventy pages of pictures, carefully selected and arranged, most of them reproductions from MSS., serve to stimulate historical imagination in respect to



the costumes worn by all classes of medieval Europeans. The index refers to both text and illustrations so that use of the book for classes in medieval history need not degenerate to mere indiscriminate "looking at pictures." The significance of the term "life" in the title is explained in a statement from the introduction: "In its degree the dress of the past is no less the outward reflection of its age than, say, architecture, and its educational value should be hardly less." The book is especially suited to help high school students to "apprehend the true inwardness of events and personalities" and "visualize them in their proper habit and surroundings."

The pictorial portions of this book portray the proper habit and surroundings of nobles, members of the religious orders, secular clergy, knights, students, medical and scientific folk, artisans, musicians, laborers, agricultural and otherwise, well-to-do burghers, all classes in their sports, herdsmen, travelers and pilgrims, invalids, the ladies and the children.

ERWIN J. URCH

Senior High School,  
University City, Mo.

*Ancient Americans. The Archaeological Story of Two Continents.* By Emily C. Davis. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931. XII, 311 pp. \$3.50.

*Columbus Came Late.* By Gregory Mason. The Century Company, New York, 1931. XIV, 341 pp. \$4.00.

*Edge of the World.* By George Brydges Rodney. Duffield and Green, New York, 1931. 235 pp. \$2.00.

*The Temple of the Warriors. The Adventure of Exploring and Restoring a Masterpiece of Native American Architecture in the Ruined Maya City of Chichen Itzá, Yucatan.* By Earl H. Morris. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931. XII, 245 pp. \$5.00.

*Archaeology of Santa Marta, Colombia. The Taitona Culture, Part. I. Report on Field Work.* By J. Alden Mason. The Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1931. 130 pp. 64 plates, 2 maps.

From year to year the interest in early American civilization and in archaeology and ethnology increases as new and frequently outstanding proofs of high civilization are brought to light. Here are reviewed five typical volumes dealing with this civilization. The first two are general, covering America as a whole, the second two deal with the Maya civilization about which much is being rapidly learned, while the fifth treats a region little known in the United States but which at one time had a comparatively high culture.

In the first volume Miss Davis, an archaeological writer for *Science*, holds a brief for Pre-Columbian American, pointing out that the Indians held America "in trust for some thousands of years, developing its food plants, pioneering in the selection of good sites for towns, experimenting with the land and its resources." (p. XI). In the small space of this book the author has popularly summarized the essential facts about the culture of all the civilized native groups in the Western Hemisphere from the Mound-

builders to the Mayas. At the same time she has described for the reader many of the methods of the archaeologist and the problems he continually meets with in his search for knowledge of the early peoples. The book is replete with interesting illustrations, the index makes the work a handbook, and a date list of important excavations and valuable references for the study of archaeology gives the student a working bibliography which he can use to delve deeper into the subject.

In the preface of the second volume Mr. Mason, a wide traveler and an archaeologist who believes that American culture was indigenous, pleads for an awakening of popular interest in the study of American ethnology and archaeology. And this is the aim of his book, for he hopes that many of his readers will be persuaded to take up a study of this subject as a hobby and perhaps pursue it further. Both this and the previous volume cover the same geographical regions and treat the same ancient peoples. Like the first volume this popularizes the subject and contains many anecdotes. The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and the index is very usable.

In the *Edge of the World* the author has developed a fantastic novel of considerable interest based largely upon a Spanish historian's story written in 1530 in which he reveals the finding on a beach in Panamá, of the remains of a Roman galley and some coins of Caesar Augustus. Like most good historical novels this has some value for its local color and factual background. But as a story for serious readers it has no value.

The fourth volume, in contrast, is of the most interesting and careful type, and is localized at the great Maya center of Chichen Itzá in Yucatan. The author has been exploring archaeological ruins since 1911, and between 1924 and 1928 he completed the excavation and the repair of the temple of the Warriors which he here describes. This is an account of an archaeological achievement comparable to few others in America and the whole story is told from the time the jungle is cleared away to the time when the finishing touches are put upon the great Maya monument. Many of these steps are revealed in photographs, and elaborate plans give the reader a clear conception of the remarkable ruin. This is one of the most fascinating books which the reviewer has had the pleasure of reading for a long time.

The last volume deals with a region less spectacular than that of Yucatan. In the Santa Marta district of Colombia lived the Tairona Indians whom no archaeologist had investigated until Mr. Mason undertook the task. Their civilization produced many fine art objects such as beads, beautiful black pottery urns with incised designs, and monolithic ax-heads. Besides these finds, the author discovered petroglyphs, paved roads, aqueducts, water reservoirs, cemeteries, walls and other ruins indicating a considerably developed sedentary culture. All of these finds have been carefully tabulated and described in this volume, the last half of which is devoted to illustrations. This work is to be followed by two more volumes, one containing further

descriptions of finds and the last devoted to a discussion of scientific results and deductions.

A. CURTIS WILGUS

*The George Washington University*

*The Populist Revolt.* By John D. Hicks. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1931. xiv, 473 pp. \$4.00.

The problems with which farmers are now wrestling are not new. In some respects they are as hoary as the institution of private property. But in their present form they belong essentially to the maladjustments that have arisen in the process of industrialization and the rise of capitalism. In the United States they have taken on their present aspects in the period since the Civil War. And they have not changed fundamentally since the days of the Populist revolt in the eightennineties. While many of the specific measures which the Populists advocated have been applied with more or less remedial value, the main objective which they sought—to redress the balance between agriculture on the one hand and industry, trade and finance on the other—has not been attained.

Hence this book, the first comprehensive account of the Populist movement, is indeed timely and deserves a much wider circulation than books of its type usually have. Its clear and authoritative presentation of the origins of our agrarian problems has great current as well as historical value. And it would not be amiss for politicians as well as voters to be reminded that the game of shuttlecock and battledore can be interrupted; that an aroused electorate is capable of developing considerable political realism; that American farmers, despite their traditional conservatism, can upon occasions organize effectively and demand measures of social control more fundamental than farm boards and competitive tariffs. If, as many believe, another great political shake-up is now overdue, one that will go farther than from twiddledum to twiddledee, it might be facilitated and instructed by a study of the causes, purposes, successes and failures of Populism.

Professor Hicks properly begins his book with an account of the overrapid settlement of the West in the era that followed the Civil War. This movement appears in perspective as a colossal real estate boom promoted by railroads, land speculators and loan sharks. Vast profits rewarded the latter groups, but the roseate hopes of the settlers were soon blasted by falling prices, vanishing profits, appreciating debts, and mortgage foreclosures. It was little consolation to them to know that the country was vastly rich and growing richer when they knew that with all their toil and hardship they were poor and growing poorer. So they set about to learn the reason why.

Meanwhile the Southern farmers had fallen into a similar plight only by a different route. There, instead of new communities planted for the profits of promoters, were old commonwealths recently demolished and now being rebuilt by the sweat of the farmers for the profits of a hierarchy of business men reaching from the Main Street merchant to the Wall Street

banker. The Civil War had left the ruined South a tributary province. Moneyless farmers—proprietors and tenants, white and black—became virtual peons to the merchants who “ran” them with credit accounts; while the latter were only a shade better off, for they had to furnish the profits for a series of middlemen and bankers on whom they in turn were dependent for capital and credit.

Having wisely devoted almost one-fourth of his book to the conditions which made for dissent, Professor Hicks then traces the rise of the Farmers’ Alliance, the father of Populism, and discusses its evolving program with commendable sympathy and understanding. By the late eighties the Alliance had come to embrace a large proportion of the population in almost every rural community throughout the West and South. With the possible exception of the Grange, which did not develop great strength in the South because in its heyday that section was too busy “saving Anglo-Saxon civilization”—the Alliance gained the widest influence and stimulated the most earnest, thoughtful, and purposeful discussion of public questions of any agricultural organization in our history.

Such discussions, accentuated by the growing burden of their grievances, led Alliancemen almost inevitably into politics. At first they functioned locally through one or the other of the old parties. By 1890, for example, they had more or less completely captured the Democracy in most of the Southern states. There “farmers’ legislatures” proceeded to curb the power of the railroads, improve rural schools, and at least to talk about readjustment of the tax burden. But the most important parts of their program called for federal action, and there seemed little hope of controlling either of the old parties nationally. Hence between 1890 and 1892 the movement for a third party gained the ascendancy in the national Alliance, though at the expense of the unity of the order.

The People’s Party came into power in its own name in only a few of the states, but it gave the old parties the fright of their lives. In the South there was never such a shaking up of dry bones. Democrats hardly knew whether to swallow Populism or to continue to fight it with manufactured majorities. In the West it was a tempting morsel to both sides, but the hungrier party was the more voracious.

Hence Bryan.

In his concluding chapter Professor Hicks summarizes the contributions of the Populists to American political and economic life and thought. “The Populist philosophy,” he says, “boiled down finally to two propositions; one, that the government must restrain the selfish tendencies of those who profited at the expense of the poor and needy; the other, that the people, not the plutocrats, must control the government.” (p. 406) In the political field they popularized the demands for the secret ballot, direct primaries, popular election of United States Senators and of the President and Vice-President; they also demanded an easier method of amending the Constitution. They were influential in weakening the hold of party fetishism. In the South they produced a new type of progressive,

though sometimes demagogic, leadership which has upon occasions successfully challenged the supremacy of the "Bourbons." In financial matters, "the Populists observed with entire accuracy that the currency of the United States was both inadequate and inelastic. They criticized correctly the part played by the national banking system in currency matters as irresponsible and susceptible to manipulation in the interests of the creditor class. They demanded a stabilized dollar, and they believed that it could be obtained if a national currency 'safe, sound, and flexible' should be issued direct to the people by the government itself in such quantities as the reasonable demands of business should dictate." The Populists also demanded a graduated income tax, rural credits, postal savings banks, parcel post, and government ownership and operation of railroads and other public utilities.

Despite the abuse and ridicule of contemporary conservatives, the Populists were not the wild-eyed, crack-brained radicals that they were pictured. In fact, they were not radical in the proper sense. They were, rather, seeking to preserve the present system by correcting its own subversive tendencies.

A. M. ARNETT

*Woman's College of the  
University of North Carolina*

*The Architect of the Roman Empire (27 B.C.—A.D. 14).*  
By T. Rice Holmes. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1931.  
192 pp. \$4.75.

This work is a continuation of one published in 1928 dealing with events in the Roman world from the assassination of Julius Caesar to the final military and political victory of Octavian, hailed as Augustus by the Senate. The last forty years of the career of Augustus were highly critical in the history of mankind. Graeco-Roman civilization had come perilously near dissolution. It is no exaggeration to say that the formation of the principate and the drastic reorganization of Roman imperial policies carried out by Augustus preserved that civilization against serious shock for two and a half centuries. Dr. Holmes brings into view the essential lines followed by Augustus in the reconstruction of the empire.

The author recognizes at the outset the difficulty of sketching in all the details. The ancient historians failed to record many of the changes effected by Augustus. Some of his reforms were misunderstood by his contemporaries. The sources for the military history of the period are sadly deficient. Nevertheless Dr. Holmes utilizes to the utmost the material at hand. Throughout the book he carefully documents his narrative. One feels at the end that his conclusions are grounded solidly in historical evidence.

The study proceeds according to chronological sequence. To the reader familiar with the period this method had its advantages. The process of empire-building unfolds year by year. To the reader less familiar with the period the method may give rise to confusion. A much clearer conception of Augustus emerges when his work is considered in certain arbitrary divisions—his constitutional reforms, his treat-

ment of the social classes, his reorganization of the provincial system, his relation to the army, his attitude toward religion. All these problems are handled adequately by Dr. Holmes, but in the fashion of the annalist rather than the social historian.

The chief merit of the book is the systematic marshaling of the evidence and the strict adherence of the scholar to his sources. All that is known about the career of Augustus as *princeps* is set forth with thoroughness and with clarity. Hypotheses, none of them startling, are advanced with commendable restraint. Highly controversial questions are relegated properly to the appendix.

STERLING TRACY

*Barnard College*

## Book Notes

*A Bibliography of English Literature and History*, with a syllabus for a coordinated course, prepared by J. Bartlet Brebner and Emery Neff (Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1932. 20 pp. \$0.25) expresses an effort to cut across the boundaries of conventional "courses" and to provide the student with the stimulus and materials for a broader and better integrated point of view. Numerous books designed to satisfy the purpose are listed for both English History and English Literature under various headings, mainly topical and chronological. The accompanying syllabus consists of specific reading assignments grouped under particular chronological periods. Trevelyan, *History of England*, and Lovett, Lieder, and Root, *British Poetry and Prose* comprise the staple reading and are well supplemented by various literary sources. In addition to its value for college purposes it seems altogether probable that secondary school teachers could profit considerably from its contents and example.

In her account of social and domestic life in England between 1805 and 1861 which she has named *The Stream of Time* (Scribner, New York, 1932, xix, 265 pp., \$4.00), Mrs. C. S. Peel has written neither historical fiction nor systematic history. She has created a family whose domestic affairs and general experiences provide a structural framework to be filled in by a great variety of historical phenomena. It is obvious that she has drawn very heavily upon Peel family letters and papers, so much so that one can occasionally establish close relations between her narrative and the less personal history of England. She has been very generous with well-chosen illustrations, many of an uncommon sort. In a sense, her book is interesting and useful in spite of its method. The apparatus creaks badly. Digestion is so common that the narrative is diffuse. Yet it is a good book to pick up and browse in and the student of social history may draw from it a great deal of cogent illustrative material.—B.

The second edition of Professor Frederick C. Dietz's *Political and Social History of England* (Macmillan, New York, 1932. xxii, 786 pp.) does not contain any marked changes in emphasis or point of view from the



first edition published five years ago. It has been brought strictly up to date, containing references to events of July, 1932. The emphasis is on economic and social matters with, of course, adequate discussion of political and constitutional movements. Thought and culture are left pretty severely alone on the plea that full attention is directed toward them in special courses. While this to a large extent is true it hardly seems to justify such an omission. The chapters are supplemented with book lists which particularly for the later periods do not seem to have undergone much revision or to have been chosen with the greatest shrewdness. In particular, Mr. Dietz appears to have little regard for "literary" biographies. The writing is generally adequate but there are numerous examples of ambiguity and vagueness, and of excessive use of superlatives. A number of useful maps and a good index increase the value of the book.

Professor Rippey confined the scope of his first text book to the relations of the *United States and Mexico* and in his second book treated more generally of the part of *Latin America in World Politics*. Both of these texts were revised in 1931 and their usefulness greatly increased thereby. Further utility is now lent them by the publication of Professor Rippey's latest text, *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America* (F. S. Crofts and co.; New York: 1932; xvii, 580 p.; illus.; \$5.00;), which rounds out their scope and furnishes a basis for study. The book is possibly subject to the criticism that the reader will feel that the treatment is too tabular

in form, a criticism from which other books in the field are by no means free. Professor Rippey's present work devotes considerable attention to the cultural heritage of the Hispanic American peoples before the achievement of independence, and the materials on the primitive peoples of America bear the imprint of A. L. Kroeber's work in the anthropological field. In the latter part of the book there appears considerable of the material from *Latin America in World Politics*, which relationship seems in fact to have been historically reversed. Professor Rippey has done a very scholarly piece of synthesis, if one stops to consider the difficulties of the undertaking, and there is today no single volume in English which may be called superior. Teachers will find the reading lists in the back of the book very useful, particularly in the collection of materials for library reference. HOWARD BRITTON MORRIS.

It has long been the peculiar instinct of mankind to seek to destroy that with which it does not agree. No historian can safely undertake to estimate the number of people who have suffered the extreme penalty for their religious or political beliefs during historic time. But merely to destroy the believers is not sufficient. The beliefs themselves must be eradicated and to this end men have devoted tireless energy. The practice of burning, or otherwise destroying, printed or written doctrines is hoary with antiquity, and the Old Testament offers evidence in the case of Jeremiah. Fire has been the favored method of destruction, and the England which produced the immortal Shakespeare was at the

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same time engaged in committing the works of Cartwright, Travers, Nicholas, Browne and Harrison to the flames, while the same reign which witnessed the Diary of Pepys and the genius of Christopher Wren saw Archbishop Laud's persecution of Calvinism. In *Burned Books* (Columbia University Press; New York; 1932; 2 Vols.; xiv, 723 p.; illus.; \$10.00) Charles Ripley Gillett has dealt with the burning of books, both political and religious. Mr. Gillett's effort is largely confined to England from the reign of Henry VIII, but occasionally wanders into the continental field. The arrangement is purely chronological and tends to become a trifle wearisome in the course of time. It is probably more valuable as a source of information for those who wish information on the works of some particular man than for any other purpose, and will appeal more to the scholar than to the occasional reader. Altogether, it treats adequately what the author has called neglected chapters in British History and Literature. HOWARD BRITTON MORRIS.

The latest of the interesting Berkshire Studies in European History edited by Richard A. Newhall, Sidney R. and Laurence B. Packard is *The French Revolution, 1789-1799*. By Leo Gershoy. (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1932. 107 pp.) The arrangement is good, with an introduction telling in small compass many of best conclusions of sound and recent scholarship upon the subject; and with three sections dealing with the constitutional monarchy, the Jacobin era, and the constitutional republic, or as often termed, the Directorate. At the end of the volume is a bibliographical note containing suggestions for further reading, interesting as to what it contains as well as to its surprising omissions. To the popular biographical studies mentioned by the author might be added Béraud's *Twelve Portraits of the Revolution*, Whitlock's *Lafayette* and Belloc's *Marie Antoinette*; the list of historical fiction might be extended. Many would expect some mention, among the longer classical treatments of the Revolution the eight volumes of Sorel's *L'Europe et la Revolution Française*. It seems a bit hasty to designate the historians Madelin and Aulard "distorted" and "partisan" in so brief a description of their extensive services to French scholarship. But such may be requiring more of this brief volume than the purpose of the series allows. The text is well written and fair in its conclusions. It should be a useful volume to the general student. C. R. HALL.

*Nationhood for India* by Lord Meston. (Yale University Press; New Haven; 1932; vii, 112 p.; \$1.50.) In presenting the British side of the Indian Question Lord Meston calls attention to the fact that during the centuries since the Dravidian occupation of India a steady stream of humanity has flowed into this region and come to rest there. India of today, and its problems, are alike the results of the successive conquests that produced the caste system, which has become a national force in the hands of the Brahman. The presence of some 12,000,000 Moslems serves further to complicate the situation and their alliance with Mr. Gandhi proved of short duration. The author's

treatment of the economic, social and religious factors in India is such as to leave a feeling of hopelessness for improvement and stands as a challenge to Hinduism to prove that despite its reactionary customs it can evolve a true nationhood for India. H.B.M.

It appears from the author's preface and the general approach to the subject that *Colonial Americans in Exile* (E. P. Dutton & Co.; New York; Aug., 1932; 288 p.; illus.; \$3.75) was written by A. G. Bradley more as a matter of personal interest than as a purely historical work. The great effort of the book is to present the Americans of the Revolutionary period as something more than merely Englishmen dwelling beyond the sea, and to analyse the motives for their divided action in 1775. Blame for the Revolution is placed directly upon the colonists who, incapable of their own defense, were unwilling to contribute to the support of the regular military sent over on their behalf. Admittedly a defense of the British, Bradley labels Sam Adams "the firebrand of this lawless period. A demagogue of the extreme type, he was well-equipped for the part by a narrow experience, an incapacity for business, and a vitriolic facility of tongue and pen" (p. 53). The division among the colonists was hastened by the excesses of the radicals who thus drove many of the yet undecided into the ranks of the Loyalists. The great mistake of the Loyalists was their failure to form counter-associations to combat the revolutionaries, who were only a minority pressure group. Subsequent to the evacuation of Boston the lot of the Loyalists was generally that of persecution at the hands of those who had "nothing to lose, and possibly something to gain" (p. 60). This persecution was partly due to the fact that the Revolution was the work of the commoners, while the Loyalists were chiefly of the well-to-do classes. Semifeudal New York produced Loyalists of the stamp of John and Guy Johnson, whose fierce reprisals for their exile have drawn down upon them the condemnation of American historians. The Royalist activity in the war became largely a matter of raids, whose repetitious details are unimportant. Many of the exiles settled in Canada, where their former relations with newly-formed United States served to mould the course of Canadian history. All these factors form the burden of Bradley's book, which biased as it is, presents a heterodox account of the Revolution in a very readable manner. Even if one disagrees with some of the analysis, one cannot impeach the author's sincerity. HOWARD BRITTON MORRIS.

Mr. E. H. Thompson, author of *People of the Serpent* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1932. xv, 301 pp., \$3.50) is one of the New England group of the 'eighties and 'nineties who decided that American archaeology was a neglected field of study which ought to be cultivated. Through the Peabody Museum, the American Antiquarian Society, the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Field Columbian Museum and other institutions, they began to finance expeditions to the south west, to Mexico and to Central America, and to

record carefully the findings of their field workers. Mr. Thompson went to Yucatan as a consul about 1885 and spent his life in investigation of Mayan remains. His reports are scattered about in the learned periodicals to which he here gives references, but the volume under review is anything but a formal archaeological report. It is a perfect *pot-pourri* of reminiscences, conjectures, theories, folk-lore and adventure. It is clear that Mr. Thompson has suffered a little from being a pioneer amateur, but he has thought much about his discoveries and his intimate contacts with modern Mayas give his conclusions much force. His book is most interesting once one accepts its rapid changes of matter. There are several thrilling adventures and some good descriptions of how the pioneer expeditions were conducted. In addition, the reader carries away with him a persuasive impression of first hand acquaintance with Yucatan. B.

Professor Robert L. Schuyler has placed students of English thought in the eighteenth century under considerable obligation by his *Josiah Tucker, A Selection from His Economic and Political Writings* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, \$5.00). The writings with their dates include "The Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes" (1755), now published for the first time, "Instructions for Travellers" (1757), "The Case of Going to War" (1763), "A Letter from a Merchant in London to His Nephew in America" (1766), "The True Interest of Great Britain Set Forth in Regard to the Colonies" (1744), "A Letter to Edmund Burke" (1775), and "A Treatise concerning Civil Government" (1781). In an introduction marked by sympathetic discernment Mr. Schuyler draws attention to the peculiar place of Tucker in eighteenth century thought, indicating as of especial interest his economic and political theory and his anti-imperialism and pacifism. He is always careful, however, to emphasize the controversial nature of Tucker's contributions to public questions, pointing out the fact that this quality has to a certain extent prevented full appreciation of Tucker's ideas. On the other hand if Tucker's bias has dated his writings and brought an under-estimation of his anticipation of the physiocrats and of his assault on the contract theory, that same bias today enables students to understand better the multiform elements of eighteenth century thought. Devotion to the works of "great men" who transcend, or rather are supposed to transcend, their time is in large measure responsible for the non-historical nature of "intellectual history." We need to study more assiduously the works of men like Tucker who though an Anglican dean was so caught up by contemporary "winds of doctrine" that his theological writings were to a large extent incidental to his literary career as pamphleteer at-large on the important public questions of his day. This book, then, well printed and carefully edited, is most welcome. CHARLES F. MULLETT.

Mr. S. C. Roberts of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has brought out his third and last *Picture Book of*

*British History, 1688-1901* (Cambridge University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1932. xiii, 77 pp., \$2.80). Like its predecessors it is an excellent piece of book and illustration production, but it is regrettable that so crowded and long a period should have to be dealt with in only 250 illustrations. The *Pageant of America* comes to mind in contrast. It would surely have been wiser to make a break after the Napoleonic Wars and add a fourth volume. Be that as it may, Mr. Roberts has divided his pictures into thirty-eight topical groups, which give his choices some unity as well as comprehensiveness. More than a third of his groups deal with non-political matter, so that the student of social history will find much to interest him. The architectural subjects are well chosen and well reproduced. Many of the contemporary prints are rare and unfamiliar and it is pleasant to find a page given to Hogarth. The comments are brief, but pointed. B.

Individuals or groups desiring guidance in their reading with respect to the Far East will find James Alexander Robertson's *The Far East, with Special Reference to China, its Culture, Civilization and History* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, Extension Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 2, October, 1931) of considerable help. The study is conveniently outlined with ample, though not always the best, bibliographical suggestions available in the English language. One may, however, unreservedly recommend it as a stimulating and suggestive study guide. C.H.P.

## Books on History and Government Published in the United States from October 15, to November 19, 1932

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, Ph.D.

### AMERICAN HISTORY

- Craven, Wesley F. *Dissolution of the Virginia Company; the failure of a colonial experiment.* N.Y.: Oxford; 357 pp.; \$3.00.
- Crocket, George L. *Two centuries in East Texas.* Dallas, Tex.: Southwest Press; 372 pp.; \$5.00.
- Dabney, Virginius. *Liberalism in the South.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of N.C. Press; 475 pp. (12 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
- Foreman, Grant. *Indian removal; the emigration of the five civilized tribes of Indians.* Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Okla. Press; 415 pp. (5 p. bibl.); \$4.00.
- Fort Necessity and historic shrines of the Redstone Country [Penna.]. *Uniontown, Pa.: Fort Necessity Chapter, Pa. S.A.R.; 144 pp.; \$1.50.*
- Frederick, John H. *The development of American commerce.* N.Y.: Appleton; 410 pp.; \$3.00.
- Glover, J. G., and Cornell, W. B. *The development of American industries.* N.Y.: Prentice-Hall; 932 pp.; \$5.00.
- Hartman, Gertrude. *These United States and how they came to be.* N.Y.: Macmillan; 341 pp.; \$5.00.



- Huberman, Leo. "We the people" [history of the U. S.]. N.Y.: Harper; 387 pp. (2 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
- Johnston, James H. Western and Atlantic Railroad of the State of Georgia. Atlanta, Ga.: Georgia Pub. Serv. Commission; 364 pp.; \$5.00.
- Landon, Harry F. An elementary history of Northern New York. Watertown, N.Y.: *Watertown Daily Times*; 76 pp. 50c.
- Manley, Henry S. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1784. Rome, N.Y.: *Rome Sentinel Co.*; 126 pp. (2 p. bibl.); 75c.
- Oliphant, Mary C. S., editor. The Simms history of South Carolina for . . . schools. Columbia, S.C.: State Co.; 320 pp.; \$1.00.
- Paullin, Charles O. Atlas of the historical geography of the United States. Wash., D.C.: Carnegie Inst. and Am. Geographical Soc. of N.Y.; 400 pp.; \$15.00.
- Peck, Epaphroditus. A history of Bristol, Connecticut. Hartford, Conn.: Lewis St. Bookshop, 27 Lewis St.; 376 pp.; \$3.00.
- Smith, Horatio D. Early history of the United States revenue marine service, 1789-1849. Wash., D.C.: Naval Historical Foundation; 89 pp.; \$2.00.
- Sullivan, Mark. Our Times; the United States, 1900-1925, Vol. 4, The War begins, 1909-1914. N.Y.: Scribner; 649 pp.; \$3.75.
- Utica Public Library, compiler. A bibliography of the history and life of Utica. Utica, N.Y.: Compiler; 237 pp.; \$2.50.
- Vander Velde, Lewis G. The Presbyterian churches and the federal Union. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press; 590 pp.; \$5.00.
- Wilson, Goodridge. Smyth County [Virginia] history and tradition. Marion, Va.: Smyth County History Committee; 408 pp.; \$2.00.

## ANCIENT HISTORY

- Boehn, Max von. Modes and manners; Vol. 1, From the decline of the ancient world to the Renaissance. Phila.: Lippincott; 308 pp.; \$4.00.
- Osten, H. H. vander and Schmidt, E. F. The Alishar Hüyük, season of 1927. [Researches in Anatolia. Vol. 3]. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; 145 pp.; \$5.00.
- Robinson, T. H., and Oesterley, W. O. A history of Israel; 2 vols. N.Y.: Oxford; 512, 516 pp.; \$3.75 each.
- Rostovtsev, Mikhail I. Out of the past of Greece and Rome. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; 145 pp.; \$2.00.
- Schmidt, Erich F. The Alishar Hüyük seasons of 1928 and '29, pt. I [Researches in Anatolia, Vol. 4]. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; 360 pp.; \$12.00.
- Ullman, Berthold L. Ancient writing and its influence. N.Y.: Longmans; 241 pp. (4 p. bibl.); \$1.75.

## ENGLISH HISTORY

- Dance, E. H. Britain in world history. N.Y.: Longmans; 544 pp.; \$2.25.
- Dowdell, E. G. A hundred years of quarter sessions;

the government of Middlesex [England] from 1660 to 1760. N.Y.: Macmillan; 290 pp. (3 p. bibl.); \$4.00.

- Morrell, William P. The provincial system in New Zealand, 1852-1876. N.Y.: Longmans; 403 pp. (6 p. bibl.); \$4.00.
- Trevelyan, George M. England under Queen Anne; Ramillies and the union with Scotland. N.Y.: Longmans; 482 pp.; \$5.00.
- Wernham, R. B., and Walker, J. C. England under Elizabeth, 1558-1603 [source-book]. N.Y.: Longmans; 289 pp.; \$3.70.

## EUROPEAN HISTORY

- Balla, Valentine de. The new balance of power in Europe. Balto.: Johns Hopkins Press; 212 pp.; \$2.00.
- Barzun, Jacques. The French race; theories of its origins and their social and political implications prior to the Revolution. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 275 pp. (10 p. bibl.); \$4.25.
- Badayev, A. The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma. N.Y.: International Publishers; 265 pp.; \$2.25.
- Hazen, Charles D. The French Revolution, 2 vols. N.Y.: Holt; 1096 pp. (21 p. bibl.); \$7.50 set.
- Junghann, Otto. National minorities in Europe. N.Y.: Covici, Friede; 121 pp.; \$1.50.
- Lawton, Lancelot. An economic history of Soviet Russia. N.Y.: Macmillan; 646 pp.; \$6.50.
- Marcu, Valeriu. The birth of the nations. N.Y.: Viking Press; 287 pp.; \$3.75.
- Wagh, William T. A history of Europe from 1378 to 1494. N.Y.: Putnam; 558 pp.; \$6.50.

## THE WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

- Withers, William. The retirement of national debts; the theory and history since the World War. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 344 pp. (4 p. bibl.); \$5.00.

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- Byrne, Sister Mary of the Incarnation. The tradition of the nun in medieval England. Wash., D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America; 235 pp. (20 p. bibl.); \$1.25.
- James, Montague R. A catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen. N.Y.: Macmillan; 164 pp.; \$4.00.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- Abstracts in history from dissertations for . . . the graduate college of the University of Iowa. Iowa City, Iowa: Univ. of Iowa Press; 170 pp. \$1.50.
- Gosse, Philip. The history of piracy. N.Y.: Longmans; 363 pp. (6 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
- Johnson, Henry. An introduction to the history of the social sciences in schools. N.Y.: Scribner; 151 pp.; \$1.25.
- Quigley, Harold S. Japanese government and politics. N.Y.: Century Co.; 454 pp.; \$3.75.
- Seligman, E. R. A., and Johnson, Alvin, editors. Encyclopedia of the social sciences, vol. 8. N.Y.: Macmillan; 713 pp.; \$7.50.

## BIOGRAPHY

- Sturt, Mary. Francis Bacon, a biography. N.Y.: Morrow; 262 pp.; \$3.50.
- Moura, Jean, and Louvet, Paul. Calvin, a modern biography. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday; 318 pp.; \$2.50.
- Hendrick, Burton J. The life of Andrew Carnegie, 2 vols. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday; 449, 432 pp. (12 p. bibl.); \$7.50 set.
- Gurn, Joseph. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832. N.Y.: P. J. Kenedy; 320 pp. (4 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
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- Konkle, Burton A. Benjamin Chew, 1722-1810. Phila.: Univ. of Pa. Press; 335 pp.; \$4.00.
- Nevins, Allan. Grover Cleveland; a study in courage. N.Y.: Dodd, Mead; 845 pp. (4 p. bibl.); \$5.00.
- Beals, Carleton. Porfirio Diaz, dictator of Mexico. Phila.: Lippincott; 463 pp.; \$5.00.
- Rodd, Francis J. R. General William Eaton. N.Y.: Minton, Balch; 325 pp. (3 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
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- Smertenko, Johan J. Alexander Hamilton. N.Y.: Greenberg; 320 pp. (5 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
- Joffre, Joseph J. C. The personal memoirs of Joffre, Field Marshal of the French Army, 2 vols. N.Y.: Harper; 672 pp.; \$6.00 set.
- Gorky, Maxim. Days with Lenin. N.Y.: Internat. Publishers; 64 pp.; 75c.
- Rennick, Percival G. Abraham Lincoln and Anne Rutledge. Peoria, Ill.: E. J. Jacob, 424 Fulton St.; 103 pp.
- Belloc, Hilaire. Napoleon. Phila.: Lippincott; 379 pp.; \$4.00.
- Dobrée, Bonamy. William Penn, Quaker and pioneer. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin; 352 pp.; \$4.00.
- Driyer, Carl S. John Sevier, pioneer of the old Southwest. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of N.C. Press.; 248 pp. (7 p. bibl.); \$2.50.
- Bülow, Bernhard H. M., Prince von. Memoirs of Prince von Bülow; Early years and diplomatic service, 1849-1897. Boston: Little, Brown; 725 pp.; \$5.00.
- Brooks, James W. George Washington's travels. Wash., D.C.: George Washington Bicentennial Commission; 64 pp.
- Viereck, George S. The strangest friendship in history: Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House. N.Y.: Liveright; 389 pp.; \$3.00.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

- Bakeless, John E., editor. Report of round tables and general conferences at the twelfth session, Institute of Politics, Williams College. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; 352 pp.; \$2.50.
- Moley, Raymond. Tribunes of the people [history of New York magistrates courts]. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; 272 pp.; \$2.50.
- Soward, Frederic H. Canada and the League of Na-

- tions. N.Y.: Carnegie Endowment for Internat. Peace; 47 pp. 5c.
- Stone, Julius. International guarantee of minority rights. N.Y.: Oxford; 297 pp.; \$4.25.
- Wallace, William K. Our obsolete constitution. N.Y.: John Day; 226 pp.; \$2.00.

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- The Historical Novel. A. T. Sheppard (*Quarterly Review*, October).
- Democracy in Periclean Athens. Marie V. Williams (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October).
- The Battle of the Assinarius (413 B.C.). B. D. Meritt (*Classical Philology*, October).
- The Roman Wall. A. D. Fraser (*Dalhousie Review*, October).
- The Peace of Stralsund, 1370. D. K. Bjork (*Speculum*, October).
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- The Foreign Policy of Prince von Bülow, 1898-1909. Ian F. D. Morrow (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, IV, No. 1).
- Some Lucknow Memories. Lieut.-Col. L. H. Thornton (*Army Quarterly*, October).
- The Prime Minister of Europe. J. A. R. Marriott (*Cornhill Magazine*, October). Metternich.
- The Growth of Papal Jurisdiction and Leo the Great. J. P. Whitney (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, IV, No. 1).
- Galileo and His Daughter. Mary B. Whiting (*Hibbert Journal*, October).
- Ten Years of Fascism. Arturo Labriola (*Contemporary Review*, October).
- Ten Years of Fascism. M. H. H. Macartney (*Fortnightly Review*, October).
- The Communism of the Incas. A. H. Verrill (*Fortnightly Review*, October).
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- South American Revolutions and North American Depressions. Madaline W. Nichols and Gertrude Sibley (*University of California Chronicle*, October).
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- Documents Available for Research on the Modern History of China. C. H. Peake (*American Historical Review*, October).
- The Two Traditions in Political Philosophy. George Bull (*Thought*, December).

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- Sources for Maritime History. (*Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, September.)
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- The Groundwork of Modern History. John Johnson (*Month*, November).
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- Gorgo and Perseus Related to the Egyptian Wars of the XVIII Dynasty. Cornelia S. Hulst (*Open Court*, October).
- Sulla's New Senators in 81 B.C. H. Hill (*Classical Quarterly*, July-October).
- Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire. A. D. Nock (*Harvard Theological Review*, October).
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- The Use of Carts in the Fourteenth Century. J. F. Willard (*History*, October).
- The Attitude of the Church toward Slavery prior to 1500. R. W. Logan (*Journal of Negro History*, October).
- The Renaissance in Relation to the Reformation. V. J. K. Brook (*Modern Churchman*, August-October).
- The Precursors of the Reformation. E. W. Watson (*Modern Churchman*, August-October).
- The Reformation and Historical Study. G. G. Coulton (*Modern Churchman*, August-October).
- The Reformation and Nationality. E. Barker (*Modern Churchman*, August-October).
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